October 27, 1997 49145 $3.50 U.S., $4.50 Canadian

Souza's
Reagan—
Matthew Scully

Washington's First Conservative Congress

NATIONAL REVIEW

Rating the Presidents

Walter A. McDougall

In Defense Of Patriotism

John Fonte

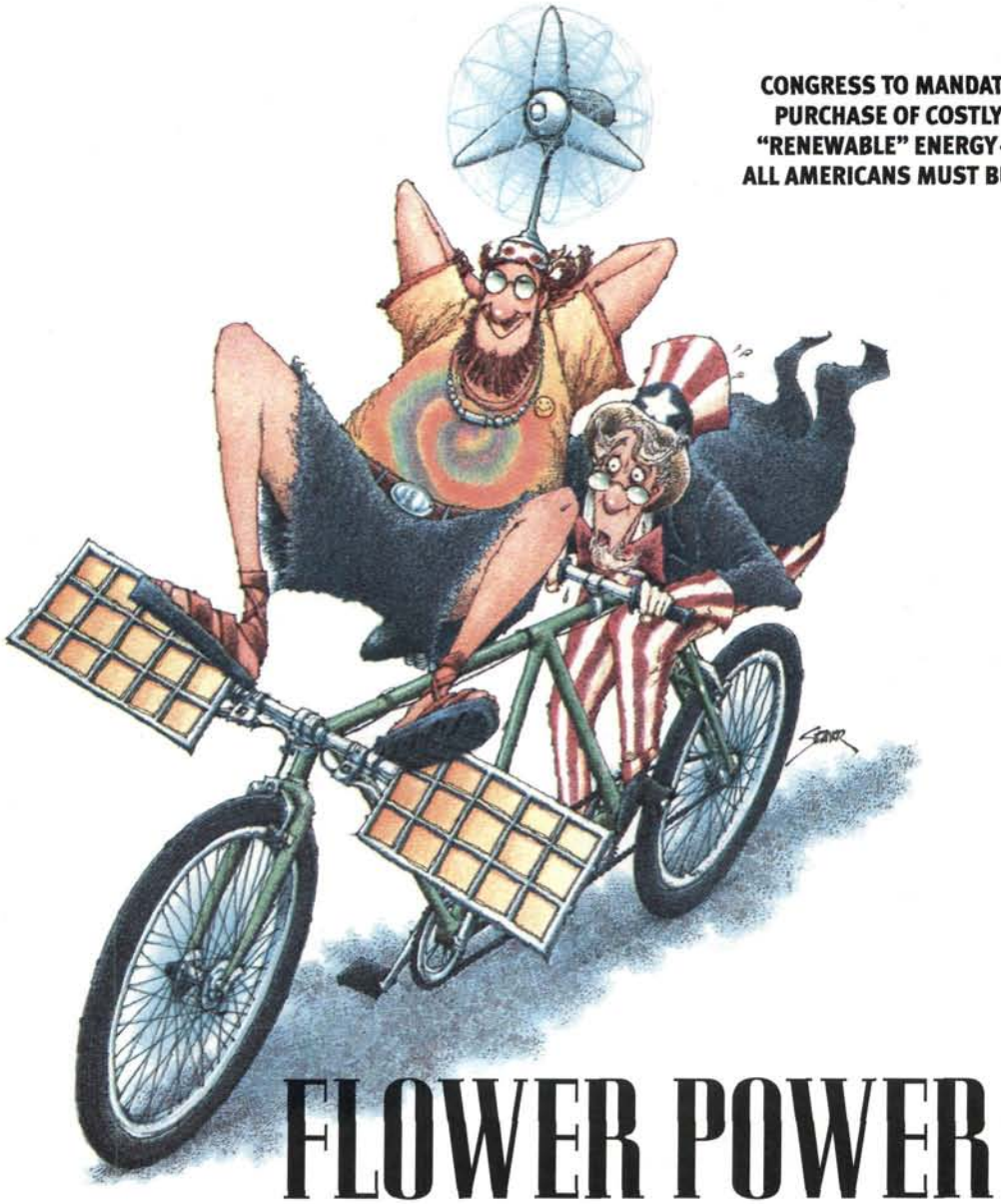
Sick Of The Sick

Anthony Daniels, M.D.

#BXNCMYG ***** 5-DIGIT 94301
#9430102255SBY0038# 071398
88 NTRV P00127
RON UNZ
555 BRYANT ST #371
PALO ALTO CA 94301-1704
3 >
0 931586 0

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CONGRESS TO MANDATE PURCHASE OF COSTLY "RENEWABLE" ENERGY— ALL AMERICANS MUST BUY!



FLOWER POWER

Flower Power circa 1997. Radical environmentalists insist that every American consumer must buy a certain percentage of electricity generated from costly, inefficient renewable energy sources.

Many Americans believe that renewable energy–wind, solar, biomass (i.e. wood) and geothermal —is cheap. *It's not!* In fact, renewables are very costly and uncompetitive.

Many Americans believe renewable energy is environmentally benign. *It's not!* In fact, there's not a renewable energy source that doesn't have some unfriendly environmental impacts.

Many Americans believe renewable energy is reliable. *It's not!* Solar and wind are, at best, fair weather energy sources.

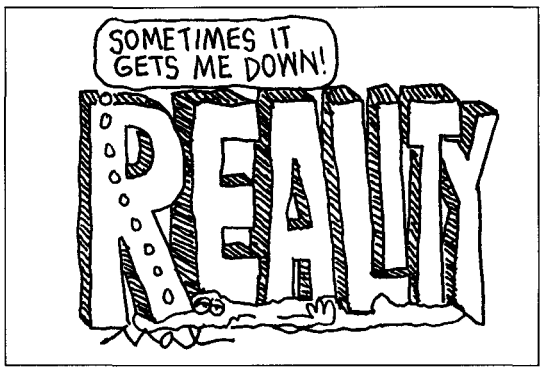
"Renewable" energy. It's not cheap. It's not benign. It's not reliable. Congress should not mandate that Americans buy it. If consumers really want "renewable" energy, then they'll create demand and be willing to pay more for it. Consumers in the free market should make that decision—not Congress. For more information on "renewable" energy, call us at 1-800/536-5920.

Citizens for State Power
122 South Patrick Street, Alexandria, VA 22314
csa@townhall.com
1-800/536-5920

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NATIONAL REVIEW

OCTOBER 27, 1997 VOL. XLIX, NO. 20



COVER STORY

32 ***Rating the Presidents***
Walter A. McDougall distributes places in history to Oval Office winners and losers.

ARTICLES

24 ***On the Scene***
Rich Lowry hugs the Promise Keepers. . . . **Vincent Carroll** places a bet on Sen. Ben Nighthorse Campbell's opponent. . . . **Jonathan Foreman** watches Camille Paglia attack feminists opposed to pornography.

30 ***Capital Scene***
Matthew Scully hobnobs with conservatives in Washington. . . . **Kate O'Beirne** (p.28) explains why Christine Whitman's conservative supporters are jumping ship.

38 ***Post–West Syndrome***
John Fonte argues that assaulting patriotism is the last refuge of a progressive.

42 ***Cancerous Budget***
John Attarian diagnoses the budget as having a terminal case of Medicare spending.

44 ***Tuning Out Religion***
Evan Gahr rates television's treatment of religion, and explains why there is reason for hope.

46 ***Controversy***
Carlos Romero-Barceló defends Puerto Rico statehood against its enemies, foreign and domestic.

BOOKS, ARTS & MANNERS

50 Talk about a sick culture: **Anthony Daniels** reflects on the hottest book genre: memoirs of illness, specifically Louise DeSalvo's *Breathless*, Heather Trexler Remoff's *February Light*, Jean-Dominique Bauby's *The Diving Bell and the Butterfly*, Ben Watt's *Patient*, Marty Jezer's *Stuttering*, Barbara Barrie's *Second Act*, and Jacquelin Gorman's *The Seeing Glass*. . . . Dinesh D'Souza's biography of the 40th President could alternatively have been titled *The Eighties: Starring Ronald Reagan*. **Matthew Scully** stays for the credits. . . . In *Full Circle*, Radek Sikorski writes about his struggle to restore a Polish manor house. **David Klinghoffer** considers the spiritual significance of gentrification. . . . In *L.A. Confidential* **John Simon** discovers that rarest of movies: a thriller that makes sense. . . . **James Gardner** recalls Keith Haring, graffiti artist and merry pictorial prankster.

64 ***The Misanthrope's Corner***
Florence King reveals what lies beneath our messiness.

SECTIONS

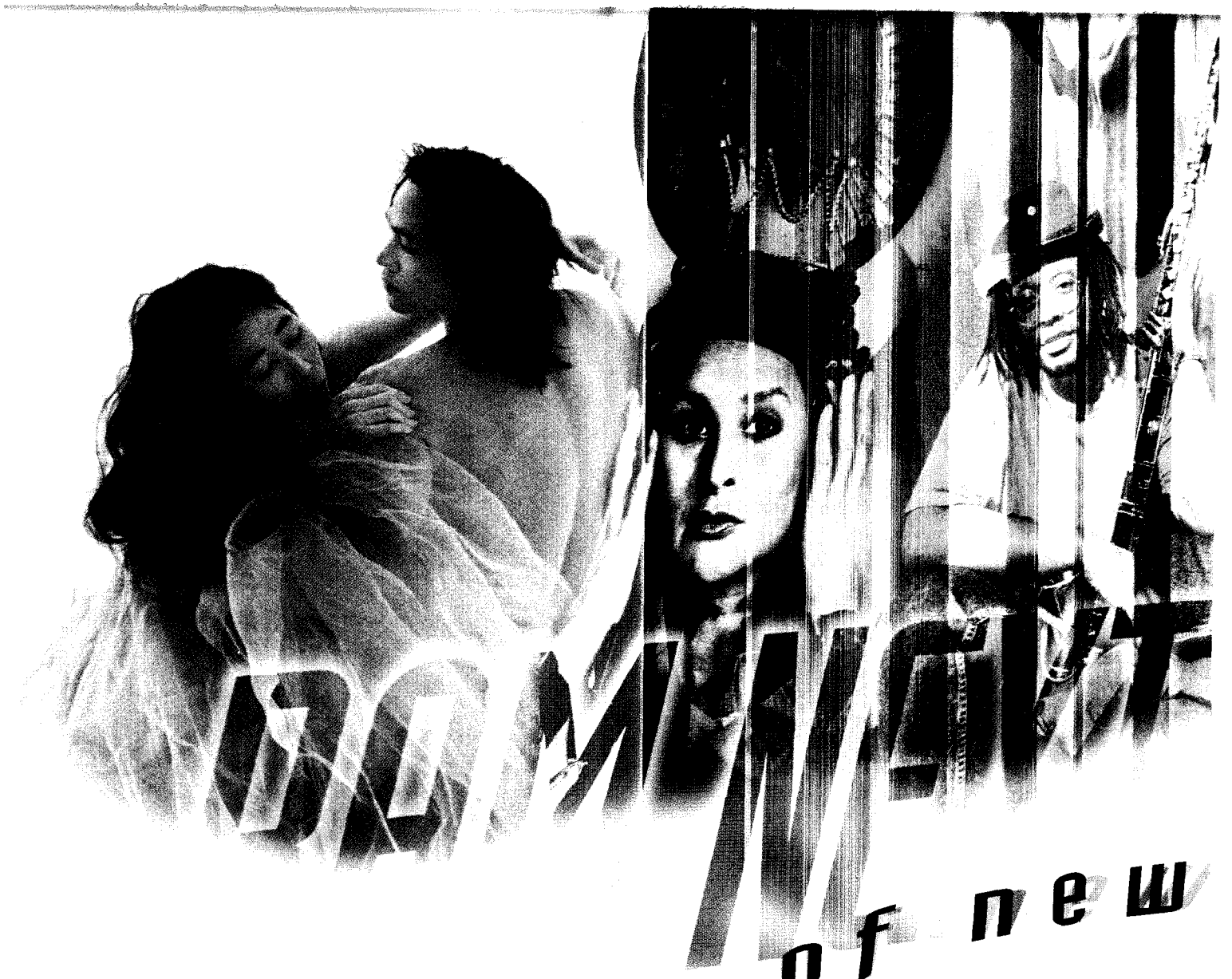
4 ***Letters***
8 ***From the Editor***
10 ***For the Record***
13 ***The Week***
29 ***Gekko***
47 ***Letter from Al***
48 ***Help***
61 ***Trans-O-Gram***
62 ***On the Right***

World Wide Web http://www.nationalreview.com

NATIONAL REVIEW (ISSN: 0028-0038) is published bi-weekly, except for the first issue in January, by National Review, Inc., at 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016. periodicals postage paid at New York, N.Y., and additional mailing offices. ©National Review, Inc., 1997. Address all editorial mail, manuscripts, letters to the editor, etc. to Editorial Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016. Address all subscription mail orders, changes of address, undeliverable copies, etc. to Circulation Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, P. O. Box 668, Mount Morris, Ill. 61054-0668; phone, 815-734-1232, Monday–Friday, 7:30 A.M. to 10:30 P.M. Eastern time. Adjustment requests should be accompanied by a current mailing label or facsimile. Direct classified advertising inquiries to: Classifieds Dept., National Review, 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016 or call 212-679-7330. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to Circulation Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, P. O. Box 668, Mount Morris, Ill. 61054-0668. Printed in the U.S.A.

RATES: $57.00 a year (25 issues). Add $21.50 for Canada and other foreign subscriptions, per year. (All payments in U.S. currency.) The editors cannot be responsible for unsolicited manuscripts unless return postage or, better, a stamped self-addressed envelope is enclosed. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of the editors.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



15 years of new

Brooklyn Academy of Music

Brooklyn, New York

October 3 – December 13, 1997

For Information call (718) 636-4100

© 1997 Philip Morris Management Corp.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

twists and turns

The *Next Wave Festival* at Brooklyn Academy of Music celebrates its 15th anniversary and pulses with the unexpected, breaking through convention in hot pursuit of the new. As it has for a decade and a half, *Next Wave* now takes to the street, hits the stage, and shows the world what's next—in dance, music, theater, opera and more.

The Philip Morris family of companies is proud to be the corporate sponsor for BAM's *Next Wave Festival*, as we have been from the beginning. It's just a part of our on-going program of support for visionary programs in hunger and nutrition, the arts, and education that enhance the quality of our world. In this anniversary year, we extend a special salute to BAM, and the irrepressible spirit of innovation that it represents.

Supporting the spirit of innovation.

PHILIP MORRIS COMPANIES INC.

KRAFT FOODS, INC. KRAFT FOODS INTERNATIONAL, INC. MILLER BREWING COMPANY

PHILIP MORRIS INTERNATIONAL INC. PHILIP MORRIS U.S.A.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LETTERS

Special Price Just for You . . .

Richard Brookhiser ["Let's Make a Deal," Sept. 29] takes too dim a view of the "culture of bargaining" in less-developed nations. Suppliers everywhere increase their profits by granting "a special price" to those unable or unwilling to pay more, so long as the discounted price still exceeds the marginal unit cost. We do this in the developed world where we can, especially with goods and services whose marginal cost is low. Theater tickets are discounted for students and seniors. Shoppers who clip coupons pay less for groceries. High-tech goods are expensive when first introduced to take advantage of the fact that some people will pay more for the latest releases, and become cheaper as the market becomes saturated.

Bargaining is simply a low-tech application of the concept. It is common in less-developed nations because people with lower incomes rationally value market efficiency more than their time. It is not so much that "in bargaining cultures, life moves at a camel's pace," as that in economies where productivity is low, bargaining is worthwhile. In the U.S., more prosperous consumers prefer paying higher prices over haggling. The principle of assessing how much the customer will pay, in order to adjust the price accordingly, is an endearing feature of the free market and should receive more attention. The value of poor people's money is effectively increased without involving government.

Mark Thompson
Chicago, Ill.

Man's Search for a Psychiatrist

Both John O'Sullivan ["From the Editor," Sept. 29] and Matthew Scully ["The Week"] refer to Viktor Frankl as a "Viennese psychologist." No, he was a *psychiatrist*, i.e., a medical doctor, and he states clearly in *Man's Search for Meaning* that he survived the camps largely *because* he was a medical doctor, and therefore useful in managing the epidemics of typhus and typhoid that periodically swept the camps—not only killing prisoners, but endangering the guards as well.

Walter Barquist, M.D.
Portsmouth, N.H.

Viktor Frankl was, of course, both a psychiatrist and *a psychologist, in that logotherapy is a theory of psychology.—Ed.*

Steamed by Engines

Please forgive the delay and nitpicking, but Jeffrey Hart's statement ["Messages from the *Titanic*," June 2] that "there was nothing fundamentally wrong with the great ship itself" has been tweaking my engineering-history conscience. The *Titanic* was technologically obsolete in at least one respect: she was propelled by three ponderous nineteenth-century piston-type steam engines rather than twentieth-century steam turbines. Both the *Mauretania* and the *Lusitania* of the rival Cunard Line were turbine-powered, and had four propellers where the *Titanic* had three.

Although slightly smaller than the *Titanic*, the turbine-powered Cunarders were a couple of knots faster. Moreover, their four-propeller configuration allowed the ship's master to go ahead on two engines and reverse the other two in emergency maneuvers. (The same configuration allowed the *Queen Mary* and *Queen Elizabeth* to dock on schedule during New York's tugboat strikes of the 1940s and 1950s.) I strongly agree with Mr. Hart's conclusion: "What is called for is high discipline and high intelligence to operate the ever-new technologies." But high discipline, high intelligence, and a degree of humility before God are also needed in designing the technology to be operated by fallible human beings.

William F. Hoey
Fullerton, Calif.

I thank Mr. Hoey for the important information. *—JH*

Free Speech, or Free Graft?

That Sen. Mitch McConnell ["Louisville Slugger," Sept. 29] would hide behind the First Amendment to justify politicians' ongoing pocketing of money from special interests is disgraceful. His claim that his constituents are more concerned about the economics of life than campaign-finance reform is a gross coverup.

Although they may not yet have made the connection, McConnell certainly knows that his constituents' economic problems are directly caused by the campaign contributions given to members of Congress by special interests looking for tax breaks, subsidies, and pork-barrel projects at the taxpayers' expense. In any other country they would call this bribery and payola. Only in America do we call it "political speech protected by the Constitution."

Jack E. Lohman
Colgate, Wisc.

Wrong Data

Ed Rubenstein's "Right Data" [Sept. 15] on the effects of immigration on the welfare system relied on incorrect data in stating: "Immigrant unemployment [in 1996] is just under 5 per cent." Unfortunately, the U.S. Census Bureau made a rare but serious computational error in its Current Population Reports, P20-494. The relevant report, issued on April 8, 1997, stated that the unemployment rate for the foreign-born population was 4.9 per cent, and that the rate for the native-born population was 3.8 per cent. That would have made the overall rate around 3.9 per cent. Such a low rate, of course, has not occurred since the late 1960s. I called the Census Bureau office that prepared the report, and, after re-checking, they admitted that an error had been made. The report had used the number of unemployed persons over 16 as a proportion of the total number of persons over 16 as the basis for their tabulation. They should have used the number of persons over 16 *in the labor force* as the denominator. The correct figures for 1996 (the latest available) are as follows: unemployment for the native-born, 5.7 per cent; for the foreign-born, 7.7 per cent. Moreover, there is also an acknowledged undercount of the foreign-born due to substantial illegal immigration that makes it certain that any "official" figure is grossly understated. It is vital to clarify these data. High unemployment among immigrants has significant implications for welfare reform.

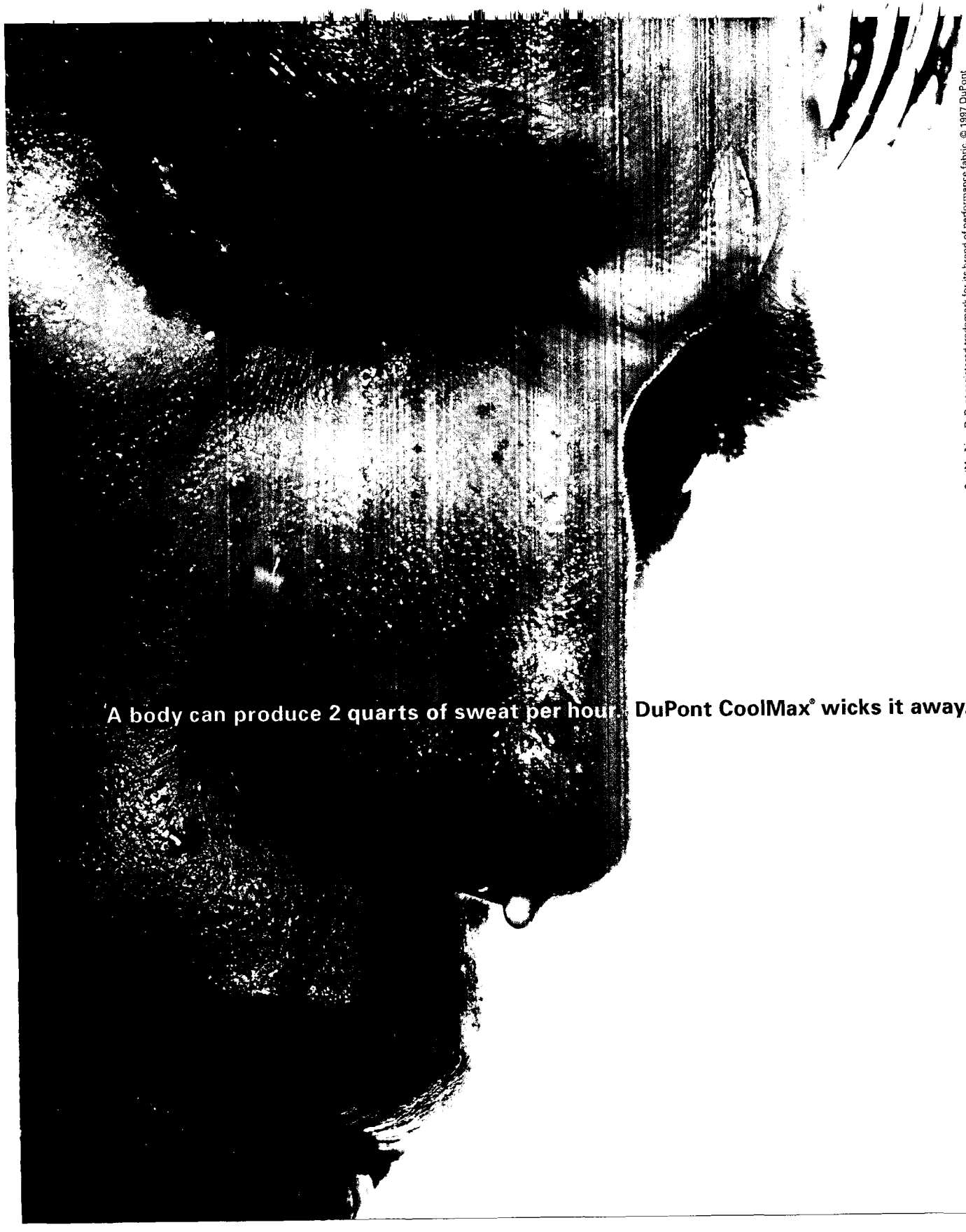
Vernon M. Briggs Jr.
Cornell University
Ithaca, N.Y.

Mr Briggs's analysis raises important questions—not just on the immigration question, but regarding the integrity of all economic data coming out of Washington. I wonder how many things we "know" to be true are the result of clerical mistakes—and how many of those "mistakes" are politically motivated. *—ER*

Correction

An error unfortunately crept into Balint Vazsonyi's "Anthem Abuse" [Oct. 13]: the suggestion that Olivia Newton-John regularly distorts the National Anthem. Mr. Vazsonyi was merely citing her as the originator of a particular style. To the best of his knowledge, Miss Newton-John, born in Britain and raised in Australia, has never been invited to sing "The Star-Spangled Banner" in public. —LB

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



CoolMax® is a DuPont registered trademark for its brand of performance fabric. © 1997 DuPont

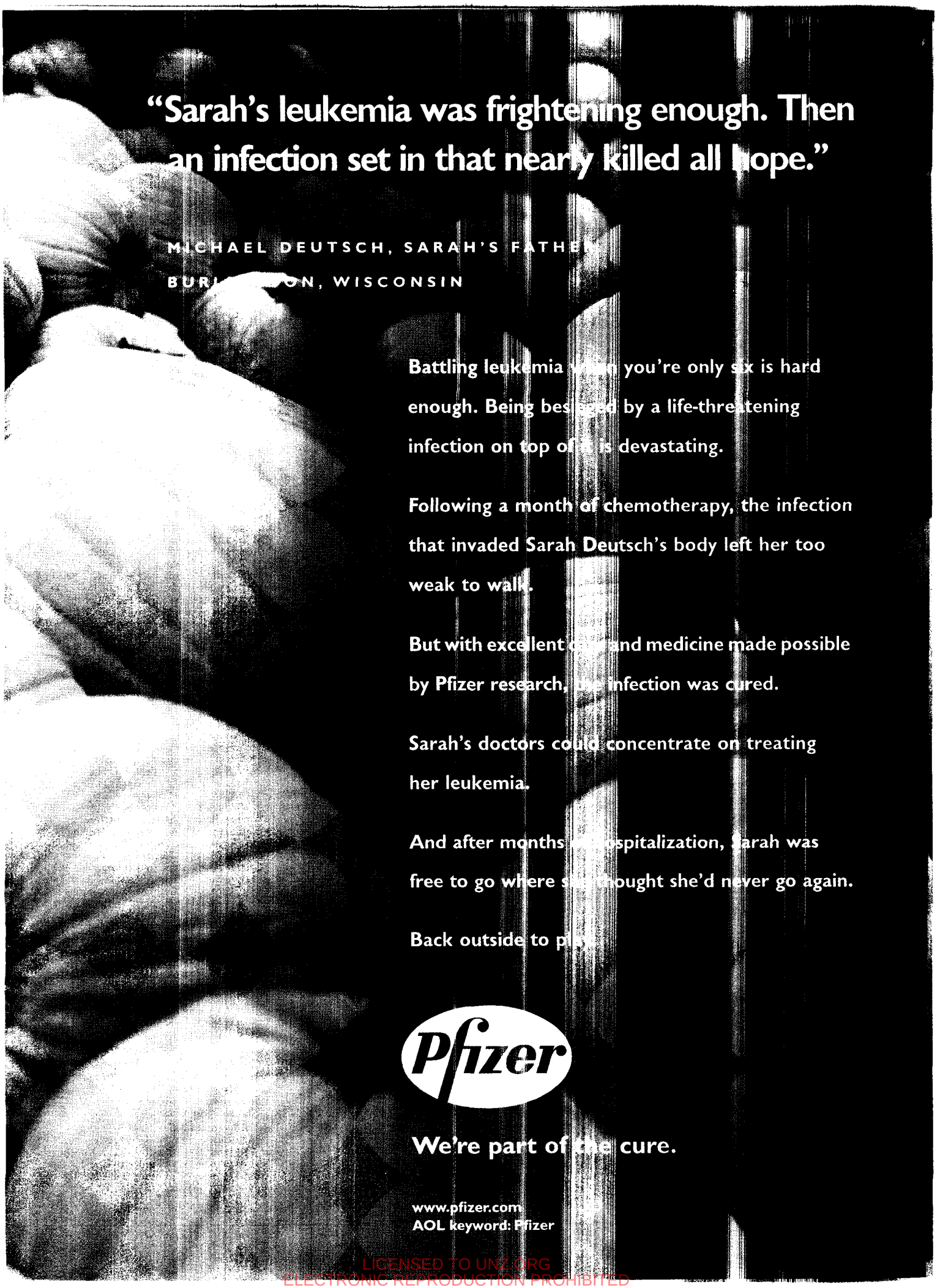
www.dupont.com

DUPONT®

Better things for better living

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



"Sarah's leukemia was frightening enough. Then an infection set in that nearly killed all hope."

MICHAEL DEUTSCH, SARAH'S FATHER

BURLINGTON, WISCONSIN

Battling leukemia when you're only six is hard enough. Being besieged by a life-threatening infection on top of it is devastating.

Following a month of chemotherapy, the infection that invaded Sarah Deutsch's body left her too weak to walk.

But with excellent care and medicine made possible by Pfizer research, the infection was cured.

Sarah's doctors could concentrate on treating her leukemia.

And after months in hospitalization, Sarah was free to go where she thought she'd never go again.

Back outside to play.

Pfizer

We're part of the cure.

www.pfizer.com
AOL keyword: Pfizer

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FROM THE EDITOR

Inside the Conintern

■ Even before the International Conservative Congress (see "The Week," and Matthew Scully on page 30) had begun, it was arousing controversy—condemned by Virginia Postrel and Jim Glassman in the *Wall Street Journal* as an agenda of "doom and gloom." Rush Limbaugh too described it as "dour" until I telephoned in, and he graciously let me make the case on air that it was better seen as "realistic."

To be sure, the agenda did begin with an analysis of why the Left was profiting most from the political environment created by the Right's victories. But realistic analysis was followed by optimistic prescription: sessions entitled "Winning Issues" and "Conservatism—the Ideology of Western Renaissance."

This last title—covering powerful speeches from WFB, Newt Gingrich, and Margaret Thatcher—was a self-conscious reference to James Burnham's famous definition of liberalism as "the ideology of Western suicide."

He meant by the phrase not that liberalism caused decline but that it was a sedative reconciling Western man to it: "It is as if a man, struck with a mortal disease, were able to say and to believe, as the flush of fever spread over his face, 'Ah, the glow of health returning!'; as his flesh wasted away, 'At least I am able to trim down that paunch'; etc . . ."

I hear conservative echoes of that self-deception whenever the response to a left-wing election victory or a Clintonite policy gain is greeted with: "Hey, lighten up. We're winning the debate."

■ All right, it is said that Ronald Reagan was an optimist. He believed the Soviet Union would collapse, and it did.

But as Dinesh D'Souza's fine new biography of Reagan establishes, the USSR did not collapse of its own accord. Reagan gave it a very hard push with an arms buildup, economic competition, the challenge of SDI technology, and an honest democratic rhetoric that undermined Soviet legitimacy in the very heart of the Kremlin.

And Reagan was firm because he was pessimistic about Soviet intentions. Jimmy Carter was the optimist here.

Acting to prevent the worst, Reagan achieved the best. He did so because he grasped conservatism's first insight—an insight optimistic *and* pessimistic—that all bad things come to an end.

■ William Kristol was on hand to defend his (and David Brooks's) thesis that conservatives should embrace "a politics of national greatness." The problem here is that if this is *not* a call to embrace big government—and the authors insist it is not—what is it?

A call for America to intervene abroad more confidently? But as Fareed Zakaria of *Foreign Affairs* asked in a debate with the *Weekly Standard*'s Robert Kagan, what test determines which crises to intervene in? (Mr. Zakaria drily suggested crises shown on CNN.)

Is it a monumental politics of civil engineering? Yet the Panama Canal was built not for national greatness, but to spare American ships the journey around the Horn. Greatness for nations, like happiness for individuals, is a by-product of other aims.

Besides which, recent federal monuments include the Reagan Building, which—alas for conservative notions of greatness—houses various federal agencies the old boy spent his life fighting.

Or is it a defense of America against the balkanizing strains of multiculturalism, etc.? Warmer. But see "The Week" for a more extended discussion.

■ Chris De Muth, president of the American Enterprise Institute (along with *NR*, one of the five sponsors), concluded matters with: "On behalf of the executive committee of the bourgeoisie, I declare the International Conservative Congress well and truly closed."

This faint echo of Marx—plus the prospect of a larger event in two years—prompted a wag to suggest a name for the new organization: the Conintern. —JOHN O'SULLIVAN

NATIONAL REVIEW
October 27 issue; printed October 8

Editor
John O'Sullivan
Senior Editors
Peter Brimelow / Richard Brookhiser
Priscilla L. Buckley / Jeffrey Hart
Peter W. Rodman
Managing Editor: Linda Bridges
Washington Editor: Kate O'Beirne
Articles Editor: Andrew Oliver
Executive Editor: Matthew Carolan
Literary Editor: David Klinghoffer
National Political Reporter: Rich Lowry
National Reporter: Ramesh Ponnuru
Economics Analyst: Ed Rubenstein
Roving Correspondent: Radek Sikorski
Art Director: Luba Kolomytseva
Associate Editor: Karina Rollins
Executive Secretary: Frances Bronson
Assistant to the Editor-at-Large: Tony Savage
Assistant to the Editor: Jeanne Shanahan
Editorial Associates
Patricia B. Bozell / Kathryn Jean Lopez
Tracy Lee Simmons / Jane Buckley Smith
Christopher R. Weinkopf
Editorial Services
Michael Ashton / Millie Fletcher
Michael A. Watkins
Research Director: Dorothy McCartney
Librarian: John J. Virtes
Research Assistant: Russell Jenkins
Contributing Editors
Elliott Abrams / Wick Allison / Hadley Arkes
Tom Bethell / Eliot A. Cohen / Brian Crozier
John Dizard / W. H. von Dreele
Andrew Ferguson / Neal B. Freeman
David Gelernter / John Gray / Florence King
Lawrence Kudlow / Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn
Anthony Lejeune / Mark R. Levin / Rob Long
Allan H. Meltzer / Stephen Moore
Richard John Neuhaus / Paul Craig Roberts
Peter Samuel / John Simon
Ralph de Toledano / Ernest van den Haag
Vin Weber / Timothy J. Wheeler
President
Thomas L. Rhodes
Editor-at-Large
Wm. F. Buckley Jr.
Contributors
Digby Anderson / Aram Bakshian Jr.
Baloo / James Bowman / David Brudnoy
Richard C. Carpenter / Donald Coxe
John R. Coyne Jr. / Dinesh D'Souza
M. Stanton Evans / Chester E. Finn Jr.
Doug Gamble / James Gardner / George Gilder
Victor Gold / Charles R. Kesler
James Jackson Kilpatrick / Jan Lukas
D. Keith Mano / Charles Burton Marshall
Forrest McDonald / Brad Miner / Thomas Molnar
Joe Mysak / Michael Novak
Grover Joseph Rees / Alan Reynolds
Selden Rodman / William A. Rusher / J. O. Tate
Terry Teachout / Taki Theodoracopulos
S. L. Varnado / Richard Vigilante
Charles Wallen Jr. / Chilton Williamson Jr.
Associate Publisher: Jack Fowler
Assistant to the Publisher: Kevin Longstreet
Assistant to the President: Barbara Nowack
Chief Financial Officer: James X. Kilbridge
Accounting Manager: Galina Veygman
Treasurer: Rose Flynn DeMaio
Business Services
Alex Batey / Julie Crane
Vickie Manca / Kristie Hong Woo
Circulation 212-679-7330
Circulation Director: Theresa Maloney
Circulation Manager: Jason Ng
World Wide Web http://www.nationalreview.com
Main Number 212-679-7330
Subscription Inquiries 815-734-1232
Washington Office 202-543-9226
Advertising Sales 212-679-7330
Advertising Director: Scott F. Budd
Account Managers: Todd Westover, Tim Koorbusch
Account Representative: Kerin Coyle
Detroit Rep. Joseph J. Colucci 248-626-9918
Publisher
Edward A. Capano

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

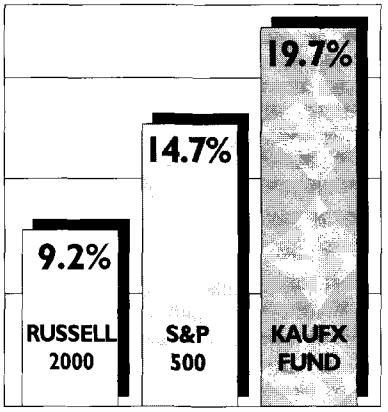
The Kaufmann Fund®

A Small Company Aggressive Growth Fund

#1 Diversified Fund Since the Market Low of 1987

*— per Mutual Fund Forecaster**

Ten-Year Compounded Annual Return



Kaufmann Five-Year Return ..23.7%
Kaufmann One-Year Return ...8.2%

Periods ending 6/30/97
per Lipper Analytical Services

"Tough Guys Finish FIRST"

— Mutual Funds Magazine, April '95

Lawrence Auriana and Hans Utsch, Portfolio Co-managers
with over 65 years of combined Wall Street experience

#1 Small Company Growth Fund For the 10 Years Ending 6/30/97

*— per Lipper Analytical Services***

For a prospectus call: **(800) 666-9233**

24 hours per day, 7 days a week

IRA

*Out of 482 open-end diversified equity funds for the period of 12/4/87 - 6/30/97.

**Out of 49 equity funds for the period of 6/30/87 - 6/30/97.

Total returns for periods ending June 30, 1997 are historical and include change in share price, reinvestment of dividends and capital gains. There is a 0.2% redemption fee and a 12b-1 fee in excess of 0.25%. The S&P is an unmanaged index consisting of the common stock of 500 publicly traded U.S. companies. The Russell 2000 Index consists of 2,000 small and mid-cap companies. For more complete information including charges, expenses, and risks on small-cap stocks please read the prospectus carefully before you invest. The performance cited represents past performance which is not indicative of future results; investment performance fluctuates; fund shares when redeemed may be worth more or less than original cost. The prices of small company stocks are generally more volatile than those of large companies.

The Kaufmann Fund, Inc.

140 East 45th Street, New York, NY 10017 • Fax (212) 661-2266

Internet - http://www.kaufmann.com Prodigy - Jump Kaufmann AOL - Keyword: Kaufmann

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FOR THE RECORD

■ According to CNN poll, a plurality of 46 per cent say **Al Gore**'s fundraising broke the law; 73 per cent say an independent counsel should be appointed to investigate White House fundraising. . . . Sen. **Bob Kerrey** (D., Neb.) says Gore's troubles are making Democrats nervous: "People are worried about it. . . . No one wants to have a member of his party, let alone a high official, be the focus of an investigation." . . . While on a Florida swing, Gore throws pass to **Charles Mincy**, Tampa Bay Buccaneer defensive back. Mincy says he would have liked to blitz Gore: "The fellas told me the Secret Service would get me before I could get to him . . . but I think we might have missed the Vice President for a couple of days." . . . Disgraced Clinton consultant **Dick Morris** is reportedly converting to Catholicism.

■ Liberal **John Judis**, writing in *GQ* about Gore rival and presidential aspirant **Dick Gephardt**: "I was prepared to like this would-be President who is right about so many economic issues. . . . I found him to be extremely closed and difficult to fathom. To the extent that I was able to perceive anything of the man behind the positions, what I saw didn't reassure me about the kind of . . . President Gephardt would be." . . . For the "we'll believe it when we see it" file: Gephardt maintains, "I'm for tax reform. I want to lock arms with **Dick Armey** and **Bill Archer**." . . . *The Nation* says of recently concluded AFL-CIO convention: "Any week that begins with an invocation to resist 'the tyranny of capitalism' and ends with a call to join 'the class struggle' can't be all bad."

■ According to report in newspaper *The Hill*, internal tension continues to plague House Republicans. Says one GOP member: "I think there's a concerted effort to take **Bill Paxon** out before he becomes a bigger threat to **Gingrich** than he is. There is lots of behind-the-scenes backstabbing and rhetoric." . . . Gingrich promises at *NR*-sponsored International Conservative Congress to bring up **Canady** bill banning federal race preferences by the spring. . . . Popular Washington State talk-show host **John Carlson** takes over as chairman of anti-preferences Washington State Civil Rights Initiative. . . . In California, initiative to ban bilingual education roils GOP. Says **Paul Frickas**, chairman of Sacramento branch of Republican National Hispanic Assembly: "You can't have a bunch of light-skinned guys, grumpy old men, forcing any kind of issue."

■ According to *Time* magazine, **John Kasich** advisors are trying to get the possible presidential aspirant to find a new hair style, because "bangs went out with **Bobby Kennedy**." . . . *Time* reports calls are being made to GOP contributors on behalf of **Elizabeth Dole**. . . . Intra-social-conservative jockeying: Family Research Council president and possible presidential aspirant **Gary Bauer** says of handling of the social issues by possible presidential aspirant Sen. **John Ashcroft** (Mo.): "I will say that everyone I've seen out there so far, including Sen. Ashcroft, doesn't seem to be emphasizing these issues." . . . Bauer's group posted signs in Washington subway stop telling arriving Promise Keepers: "Gary Bauer and the Family Research Council welcome you to Washington," while Ashcroft gives 2,000 Promise Keepers a personal tour of the Washington monuments. . . . Fox News poll finds that, by 59 per cent to 17 per cent, Americans think Promise Keepers promote Christian values rather than male dominance.

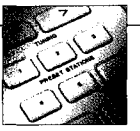
"You're an extra special prosecutor to me, dear."

■ Despite not being able to keep a government for more than a year or two, Italy demands a veto-wielding UN Security Council seat if Germany and Japan are considered. Italian-American group proclaims that anything less would be disrespectful to 22 million Italian-Americans. . . . French journalists uncover 11,000 tons of banned British beef being illegally shipped to mainland Europe through Ireland. For a few hundred years Britain was worried about Ireland carrying smuggled traffic (French armies, etc.) the other way. . . . Ireland's traditional emigration problems turn to immigration problems. *Guardian* reports that Rumanian hookers are undercutting Dublin's native prostitutes. . . . *L'Express* reports that Quebec's government spends $2 million per year to recruit 4,000 workers from France. It offsets immigration by English-speaking Canadians and Quebec's low birthrate. . . . Round Three: stung by **Mahathir Mohamad**'s criticism, billionaire **George Soros** labels the Malaysian Prime Minister "a menace to his own country."

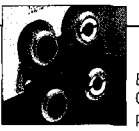
■ Media Research Center points out that in interview with **Katie Couric**, actress **Whoopi Goldberg** seems to suggests that the popular NBC *Today Show* host marched with her in pro-choice rallies. "Nooo," protests Couric, laughing. "I'm not allowed to do that." Goldberg responds: "Oh no, that's right. We have not marched together. It was somebody who looked like you. Uh, I forget where I am sometimes." . . . Actor and East Hamptonite **Alec Baldwin** agrees to travel around New York on behalf of Democratic effort to unseat **George Pataki** and **Al D'Amato**. . . . Executive director of Massachusetts Republican Party receives fundraising letter from national Democrats, responds: "I don't think the Massachusetts GOP will be contributing Mr. President. Besides, we would have much preferred a phone call."

■ Humorist **Mark Russell** on **JFK Jr.** appearing nude in *George*: "If this becomes some sort of trend where publishers start appearing nude in their own magazine, I am canceling my subscription to *Forbes*."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Set six AM and six FM stations.



Easily connect your CD player, cassette player, TV, or VCR.

HEAR WHY THE BOSE® WAVE® RADIO WAS NAMED A "BEST NEW PRODUCT OF 1994" BY *BUSINESS WEEK*.

Tabletop radios are popular for their convenience and small size. But their sound quality leaves much to be desired. No one really expects high-fidelity sound from a radio. Until now.

strengthens a breath of air to fill an entire concert hall, the waveguide produces room-filling sound from a small enclosure. This technology and performance is available in no other radio.

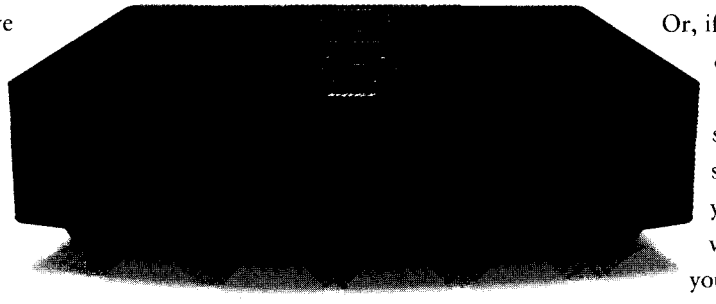
You'll touch a button and hear your favorite music come alive in rich stereo sound. You'll hear

CALL NOW AND MAKE SIX INTEREST-FREE PAYMENTS.

The Wave radio is available for $349 directly from Bose, the most respected name in sound. So call 1-800-681-BOSE, ext. R5699, to learn more about our in-home trial and satisfaction guarantee. When you call, ask about our six-month installment payment plan.

HEAR THE RADIO THAT WOKE UP AN ENTIRE INDUSTRY.

Bose presents the Wave radio. It's the one radio acclaimed by leading audio critics. Because it's the one radio that delivers big, rich, lifelike stereo sound *plus* a small, convenient size.



Or, if you prefer, return the coupon below.

Wired magazine said it has a "clean, sweet sound that will have your friends wondering where you've hidden your fancy speakers." But you have to hear the Wave radio for yourself to believe it. Call today.

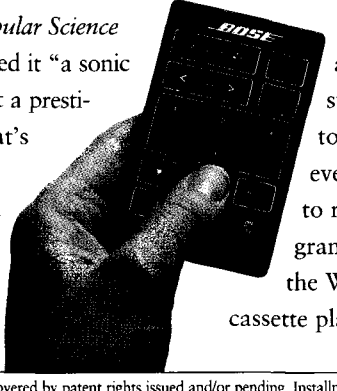
THE BEST-SOUNDING RADIO YOU CAN BUY.

We think the Wave radio is the best-sounding radio you can buy. And audio critics agree.

The speakers in conventional radios cannot produce lifelike bass, which is essential for great sound.

Only the Wave radio with acoustic waveguide speaker technology produces high-quality sound with full, rich bass.

Radio World called the sound "simply amazing...a genuine breakthrough in improved sound quality." *Business Week* named the Wave radio a "Best New Product of 1994." *Popular Science* called it "a sonic marvel" and gave it a prestigious "Best of What's New" award. The key is our patented acoustic waveguide speaker technology. Just as a flute every note the way it's *meant* to be heard. The Wave radio measures just 4.5″H × 14″W × 8″D and fits almost anywhere. So you can listen in your bedroom, living room, kitchen, or any room. And with your choice of graphite gray or imperial white, the Wave radio not only fits in any room, it fits any decor.



REMOTE-CONTROLLED CONVENIENCE.

Operate the radio from across the room with the credit card-sized remote control. Set six AM and six FM stations, and switch between them at the touch of a button. You can even bring great Bose sound to recorded music, TV programs, or movies by connecting the Wave radio to your CD or cassette player, TV, or VCR.

ORDER BY DECEMBER 15, 1997, FOR FREE SHIPPING.

CALL 1-800-681-BOSE, EXT. R5699.

When you call, ask about our six-month installment payment plan. (Available on telephone orders only.) Also ask about FedEx® delivery service.

Please specify your color choice when ordering the Wave® radio:

☐ Imperial White ☐ Graphite Gray

Mr./Mrs./Ms.
Name (Please Print)
Address
City State Zip
( )
Daytime Telephone
( )
Evening Telephone

Mail to: Bose® Corporation, Dept. CDD-R5699, The Mountain, Framingham, MA 01701-9168, or fax to 1-800-862-BOSE (1-800-862-2673).

BOSE®
Better sound through research®

©1997 Bose Corporation. Covered by patent rights issued and/or pending. Installment payment plan and free shipping offer not to be combined with any other offer. Installment payment plan available on credit card orders only. Price does not include applicable sales tax. Price and/or payment plan subject to change without notice. FedEx service marks used by permission. *Wired*, June 1994.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Bermuda Triangle-Sun

VOL. I . . . . No. 3 | *HAMILTON, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 10, 1997* | FREE

National Review's Spectacular Cruises Win Grudging Praise from Columnist for *The Nation*; "If They Wow Cranky Liberals, Imagine How *You'll* Enjoy Our Bermuda Cruise!" *NR* Publisher Tells Readers

Who'd Have Thunk It?: Lefty Hit Man Alterman "Killed With Kindness" on Alaska Trip; Is Agog as He Discovers *NR* Passengers "Polite ... Warm And Friendly ... So Smart, So Decent."

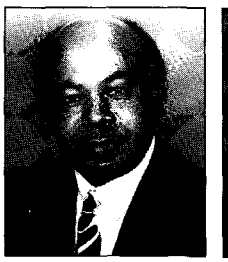
Orders Pouring In; *NR* Sets Up New Bermuda Cruise Info Kit Hotline: Call 1-888-335-4001

By Sandi Beech

Robert Bork

Dinesh D'Souza

Brit Hume



Ward Connerly

Mona Charen

John Leo

Brent Bozell

Kate O'Beirne

John O'Sullivan

William Rusher

NEW YORK, Oct.9—The New York publishing world is in shock over an anticipated journalistic "hit job" gone awry: a profile of the recent *National Review* Alaska cruise by a columnist for *The Nation*—published in the October 6th issue of the ultra liberal "opinion" journal—actually teems with grudging praise for your favorite conservative magazine's latest sea-faring adventure.

Renowned crotchety pundit Eric Alterman's profile of *NR*'s August trip to the "Land of the Midnight Sun" literally gushes with compliments, transcending the liberal boilerplate prose (and the kind of language you don't see in family publications like *NR*) that make up the rest of the article.

"Who would believe," said one *NR* cruise official, "that *The Nation*—of all publications—would ever describe *NR*-brand conservatives as 'warm and friendly' people who are 'polite,' 'don't sneer,' and 'seem to really care how you feel, how you slept?'" *NR* passengers, wrote Alterman, are 'as friendly as can be, and their curiosity is boundless and uncontainable.'

Describing *NR* cruisers as being "so wrong," Alterman—who wonders if *NR* was trying to "kill me with kindness"—couldn't help admitting they are also "so smart" and "so decent."

NR Publisher Edward A. Capano responded to Alterman's piece thusly: "If *National Review*'s cruises can wow cranky liberals," like Alterman, "imagine how you'll enjoy our Bermuda cruise."

Of course, Capano was referring to the ***National Review 1998 Bermuda Cruise***, scheduled for May 23–30, 1998. The magazine's fifth annual voyage—which dozens of *NR* readers have already signed up for—will take place aboard Celebrity Cruises' MV *Zenith*, the stunning vessel labeled "indisputably gracious, airy, and comfortable" by Fodor's authoritative *Worldwide Cruises*.

Headlining what many believe will be the magazine's best-yet sail are, says Capano, "some of the brightest stars in the conservative firmament."

Joining Editor **John O'Sullivan** and Washington Editor **Kate O'Beirne** will be Judge **Robert Bork**, author **Dinesh D'Souza**, **Brit Hume**, the Managing Editor of FOX News Channel's D.C. bureau, California "Proposition 209" champion **Ward Connerly**, *US News & World Report* columnist **John Leo**, syndicated columnist **Mona Charen**, former *NR* Publisher **William Rusher**, and Media Research Center founder **Brent Bozell**.

The National Review 1998 Bermuda Cruise will showcase stimulating seminars on media bias and political correctness, plus exclusive events, including several cocktail parties and late-night poolside "smokers" featuring classic **H. Upmann** cigars and top-shelf cognac. Prices for the ***National Review 1998 Bermuda Cruise*** include participation in all *NR* seminars and social events, your stateroom, all meals, plus taxes, port fees, and gratuities, and start at a low $2,024 per person. (Sign up before December 1, 1997, and *NR* will reduce your fare another $100!).

As usual, "single" cabins are available, and if you wish to "share" a cabin with another person, *NR* will gladly play matchmaker and try to set you up with another right-minded "fellow traveler" (if you'll pardon *that* expression).

To get your FREE copy of the ***National Review 1998 Bermuda Cruise*** Information Kit, call *NR*'s new toll-free number: 1-888-335-4001 (before the cabin of your choice is *gone*!).

Until next time, this has been Sandi Beech, *National Review* Cruise Correspondent for *The Bermuda Triangle-Sun*.

GET YOUR FREE BERMUDA CRUISE INFORMATION KIT: CALL 1-888-335-4001

THE CRUISE AUTHORITY

Celebrity Cruises

H. UPMANN 1844

Offer in $US, per person, double occupancy. Rates include port charges, taxes, and gratuities. Space is subject to availability. Categories are on a first come, first served basis. Guests in attendance are subject to change without notice. Celebrity Cruises' Zenith *is of Liberian registry.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE WEEK

■ The White House Communications Office reportedly has a budget of $122 million and a staff of about a hundred, all of whom apparently forgot about the tapes. Clinton–Gore Disease, which involves total memory loss except for what one reads in the paper that morning, is becoming epidemic.

■ Forty-four videotaped snippets of President Clinton greeting guests at White House coffees have been released by the White House. Since the coffees became news, Mr. Clinton's defenders have argued that no fundraising occurred at them, but the tapes belie that claim. In one clip, Donald Fowler, then head of the Democratic National Committee, tells a guest who is offering to give him five checks on the spot, "As soon as this thing is over, I'll call you." As bad as the contents of the tapes is the timing of their release. The Thompson Committee first asked for them in July. The White House, said Sen. Arlen Specter (R., Pa.), "may have crossed the line of obstruction of justice. If [the tapes] are innocent, why [didn't] we have them a long time ago?" The White House says it is still looking for "other possible taped materials"; who knows what might turn up? Karl Jackson, an Asian-affairs expert who attended one coffee, testified that John Huang told the guests elections "cost money, lots of money, and I'm sure everyone here will want to support the re-election of President Clinton." That would not look good with lights, camera, and action.

■ In a dramatic Friday announcement, Attorney General Janet Reno declared that she had "no credible evidence" that a law banning White House fundraising existed. "If there were one," she added, "I'm sure I would have read about it in the *Washington Post*."

■ The latest Democratic scandal (but there will surely be others) is possible involvement of the Administration and the DNC in an illegal fundraising scheme to re-elect Teamster President Ron Carey last year. Carey, self-styled reformer, was fighting an insurgency by old-style boss Jimmy Hoffa Jr. Three liberal Carey aides—including a Common Cause activist and a former member of the Harvard Students for a Democratic Society—have admitted funneling Teamster funds into the Carey campaign (including a committee called Teamsters for a Corruption-Free Union). While Carey aides broke laws, the Clinton operation provided support from the outside. The White House strong-armed companies involved in labor disputes, while the DNC apparently approved a plan to trade $1 million in Teamster contributions to state Democratic parties for a $100,000 contribution to Carey from a wealthy donor. The Democrats and the Carey camp have accomplished the impossible: making the Hoffa name look good.

■ Miss Reno did, however, order the five hundred attorneys of the Justice Department's special task force to spend another ninety days investigating whether it was possible that some law could apply to Democrats during her tenure in office and, if so, how to get around it.

■ At press time, the Senate had reached a stalemate on campaign-finance reform: all Democrats and three Republicans (Snowe, Jeffords, Specter) refused to allow a vote on Sen. Lott's amendment to force unions to get their members' permission to spend their dues on political activity; all but eight Republicans refused to vote on the reform bill without the union provision. Sen. Snowe is pushing a compromise to make all membership organizations—the Christian Coalition and the AARP no less than unions—get permission before politicking. But nobody is forced to join the Sierra Club, or to be a shareholder in a politically active corporation, while the law forces many workers to pay union dues. Sen. Lott is accused of "singling out" the unions for a special burden, but that's only necessary because the law already gives them a special privilege. Senate Republicans are likely to reject the compromise—rightly—and the Democrats will have to content themselves with breaking existing laws.

■ Immediately upon learning Miss Reno's opinion that fundraising therein was legal, President Clinton issued an Executive Order making the District of Columbia, Asia, and Guam a residential area of the White House.

■ The Jenkins–Landrieu vote-fraud case is over, with the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Let's Run with It

All rise for Roth of Delaware.
He bearded in its fetid lair
The IRS, whose awful bites
Bring terror to suburban nights,
And to Republicans an issue
That dwarfs the corpse in Mogadishu.

—W. H. von Dreele

Senate Rules Committee voting, 16 to 0, to end its investigation. The committee could not confirm many of Woody Jenkins's more sensational allegations. Almost all the witnesses to vote buying and multiple voting turned out to be unreliable—as indeed are most criminals who turn state's evidence. Nor did it help that the Democrats stymied the probe at every turn. Even so, the committee found numerous lapses in Louisiana electoral procedure, and gambling companies and local political organizations plainly broke the rules in ways that helped steal a tight election from Jenkins. Meanwhile, in the House, Democrats are shouting sexism and racism in a campaign of intimidation to prevent their Republican colleagues from taking any action in regard to last year's Dornan–Sanchez race. Growing evidence strongly suggests that non-citizens more than accounted for Bob Dornan's 980-vote margin defeat. It remains to be seen whether the GOP leadership will resist the notion that women's rights include keeping fraudulently elected women in office.

■ If we were feeling as much heat as Al Gore, we might believe in global warming too.

■ The neoliberal editors of *The American Prospect* magazine write that their November–December issue had already gone to press when *NR*'s June 16 "Emerging Democratic Majority" cover story appeared. (That is some lead time—they must be using union printers.) But they rightly note that their striking article of the same title by Paul Starr presents essentially the same analysis of the anti-Republican impact of immigration on America's political future. Starr points out that there is no practical possibility that Republicans can compete for the immigrant Hispanic vote. ". . . [E]ven if the Republicans soften their stands [on immigration? what stands?], there is no mistaking which party remains the home of both nativist sentiment and opposition to social programs that benefit groups with large numbers of poor working families." In other words, current immigration policy produces an inflow that is inevitably hostile to conservatism for cultural *and economic* grounds. The Left, Starr adds, must proceed with care. "Democrats . . . should be wary of supporting high volumes of legal immigration and thereby undercutting the economic position of low-wage workers." This could lead to immigration reform and/or the strengthening "among whites of anxieties already evident in the vote for Proposition 187 and the English-only movement." Fortunately, the Republican Establishment is on hand to ensure that nothing of the kind happens.

■ President Clinton was fitted for a hearing aid when he couldn't hear the voices of supporters offering money over the clinking of White House coffee cups.

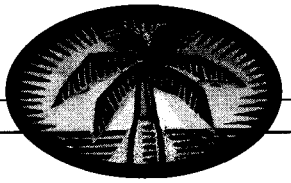
■ Republicans plan to send a new partial-birth-abortion ban to President Clinton, setting up another high-profile battle over the issue. (An earlier version of the ban passed the House 295 to 136 in March.) Clinton is expected to veto the measure again. What complicates matters for the GOP is that New Jersey Gov. Christine Todd Whitman, running for re-election, has also vetoed a ban on partial-birth abortion. So RNC Chairman Jim Nicholson privately argued that the congressional vote should be postponed until after the November elections. Congressional leaders disagreed. But at least the party is united in recognizing the unpopularity of infanticide.

■ Although protocol bars presidential aspirants for the year 2000 from announcing their candidacies just yet, it does not preclude them from registering their Internet domain names. Gore2000.org, for example, is owned by the Friends of Al Gore. Campaign America, Dan Quayle's PAC, owns the rights to Quayle2000.com *and* Quayle 2000.org. The Governor Bush Committee in Texas maintains Bush2000.com, even though *Governor* Bush faces re-election in 1998, not 2000. The domain names Forbes2000, Perot2000, Kasich2000, McCain2000, Thompson2000, Powell2000, Gephardt2000, Lamar2000, and Kemp2000 are all registered by corporations or individuals with no obvious connection to the potential candidates. Sadly, Scalia2000, both .org and .com, are still available. Happily, no one has registered Weld2000, Whitman2000, Wilson2000, or Hillary2000.

■ A hundred pundits point out that the century-old law under which Clinton and Gore face prosecution for fund-raising calls from the White House was meant to bar federal office-holders from dunning federal employees in their offices. At last liberals discover original intent.

■ Carlos Romero-Barceló, the Resident Commissioner for Puerto Rico in the House of Representatives, responds (p. 46) to Jorge Amselle's warning (*NR*, Aug. 11) against the rush to Puerto Rican statehood. He adduces two points: Puerto Rico's value as a market for American goods, and the sacrifices of Puerto Rican soldiers in America's wars. Both are important; neither tips the balance. Mexico and Canada are even larger markets for American goods, and many Filipinos fought bravely in World War II, but none of these countries is thereby enti-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



GET INTO CLUB MED FOR $8.

AMERITRADE announces the lowest commissions—anyway you trade it.

$8 on-line trades | $12 touch-tone phone trades | $18 broker-assisted trades

Commissions are flat rate. No limit on shares traded.

Whether you're looking to buy 100 shares of Club Mediterranée, S.A., or 1,000, with Ameritrade the commission for an on-line trade is always the same. $8 flat.

If you're already trading with a deep discount broker, there's no smarter way to go than Ameritrade. Because we offer the lowest commissions, not just on-line, but all across the board. Touch-tone trades are only $12, while broker-assisted trades are only $18. That's bound to send some other deep discount brokers packing.

Bringing together the experience of Ceres Securities, Aufhauser and e-Broker, the creation of Ameritrade is very good news for you and your bottom-line.

After all, you're too smart to spend any more on commissions than you have to. You just need to know where to go. With Ameritrade, anyway you trade it, we can save you money. Which is one package deal you won't want to pass up.

Ameritrade®
SMARTEST WAY TO TRADE. PERIOD.

Call Ameritrade now, and your first 5 trades are commission-free! Call 1-800-728-8603. Or visit our website at www.ameritrade.com

Member NASD/SIPC • $2,000 minimum equity required to open your account • Limit orders are an additional $5.00 • SIPC account protection is $500,000 with $100,000 for cash claims. $10 million additional account protection provided • Copyright 1997. Ameritrade, Inc. • Club Med and Club Mediterranée, S.A. are registered trademarks of Club Med Sales, Inc.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Home Free All

Bill Clinton's in a festive mood.
Al Gore skips down the hall.
John Huang, the good-time nuns, et al.
Accept an outside call.
The Lincoln bedroom's booked for weeks;
Soft money's pouring in.
As for O'Leary, Reno's writ's
Restoring Hazel's grin.

—W. H. von Dreele

tled to statehood. Reasons for skepticism are far more persuasive: as a state, Puerto Rico would experience a poverty gap that would cost billions of dollars to close, and that would provoke resentment if it continued to yawn; accepting a state with its own language and culture would stoke bilingualism and multiculturalism in the first 50; Puerto Rico's reluctance to take the step until now bodes ill for future peace. Mr. Romero-Barceló says that Puerto Ricans only want the "right to decide our political destiny." But Puerto Ricans have voted on statehood before, always negatively. Alaska and Hawaii voted for statehood by huge margins, and neither of them had terrorist pro-independence movements. Puerto Rican statehood looks like a bad idea, whose time should not come.

■ In November 1994, Ronald Reagan informed the nation in a handwritten note that he was descending into the grip of Alzheimer's. The *New York Times* recently ran a long story on his condition, featuring numerous denials by his doctors that the disease had begun during his Presidency. (Was this paralepsis, asserting through omission or denial? We would never accuse the *Times* of such a thing.) The story concluded, however, with this anecdote. This summer, an elderly man and his grandson, Ukrainian émigrés, ran across Mr. Reagan in a park near his Los Angeles home. "We began to cheer him, and said, 'Mr. President, thank you for everything you did for the

Right Data

As Bill Clinton sees it, there's no crisis in American education. At a Rose Garden ceremony this spring the President hailed our fourth-graders' second-place finish in science, behind Korea, as measured by the Third International Mathematics and Science Study. The good fourth-grade scores followed last year's mediocre performance by eighth-graders, who came in 17th in science and 28th in math among 41 participating countries.

"There are a lot of people who never believed the United States children would score in the top two in the world on any of these international tests," Clinton said. "Now they know they were wrong."

Nonsense. Our fourth-graders have always done well in these competitions. Where we suffer is at the end of the K–12 process.

Look at scores on the National Assessment of Educational Progress, which emphasizes thinking rather than factual knowledge and is regarded as the best test of student skills and competency. On a proficiency scale of 0 to 500, 17-year-olds scored an average 296 in science last year, or 9 points below their 1970 counterparts. Math scores edged up slightly, but most of the gain reflects blacks' and Hispanics' coming off very low levels. Among 17-year-old whites, math skills are unchanged, while writing and reading proficiency has actually declined.

Shockingly few students perform at the top competency level (above 350). To reach that score on the math portion of the NAEP students need only demonstrate "the use of beginning algebra." Yet in 1996 only 7 per cent of 17-year-olds scored in this category. Science results are no more encouraging: In 1996 only 11 in 100 17-year-olds could "infer relationships and draw conclusions using detailed scientific knowledge."

The picture is even worse in the humanities. Only 6 per cent of 17-year-olds are able to "synthesize and learn from specialized reading materials." Fewer than 2 per cent were in the top writing group, described as those able to "write effective responses containing supportive details and discussion."

The lack of progress comes despite the huge sums extracted by the educational establishment from American taxpayers. Since 1970 per-pupil spending on primary and secondary education has risen about 87 per cent after inflation. The United States currently spends an average of $6,017 on each K–12 pupil, according to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development; the average for OECD nations is $4,023. Korea spends just $1,871 per student.

Many educators would require students to pass a NAEP-like test in order to graduate. But this idea is too radical for most. After all, some kids might actually fail. —Ed Rubenstein

Older but Dumber?
Test Scores by Age and Subject

	Math		Science		Ed. Spending
	9-Yr-Olds	17-Yr-Olds	9-Yr-Olds	17-Yr-Olds	Per Pupil *(1996 Dollars)*
1970	NA	NA	225	305	$3,073
1973	219	304	220	296	3,590
1982	219	299	221	283	4,152
1990	230	305	229	290	5,650
1994	231	306	231	294	5,638
1996	231	307	230	296	5,738
% Chg:	+5.5%	+1.0%	+2.2%	–3.0%	+86.7%

Source: NAEP; Dept. of Commerce.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

JAZZ HERITAGE INVITES YOU TO ACCEPT

Giants OF Jazz

THE 5-RECORDING COLLECTOR'S SET

A FULL $65.00 VALUE **Yours** FOR ONLY **$5.95** PLUS SHIPPING & HANDLING

AND YOU NEED BUY NOTHING MORE–EVER!

MILES DAVIS

COOKIN' WITH THE QUINTET. To many they were *the* group...the best small combo in modern jazz. For sheer excitement on the up tempos, the Davis five was unsurpassed. Included are: *My Funny Valentine; Blues by Five; Airegin;* and *Tune Up/When Lights are Low.* Miles Davis, *Trumpet;* John Coltrane, *Tenor Sax;* Red Garland, *Piano;* Earl May, Paul Chambers, *Bass;* Albert Heath, Art Taylor, *Drums.* A truly sensational collector's album!

LOUIS ARMSTRONG

AND KING OLIVER. Included here are: *Just Gone; Canal Street Blues; Mandy Lee Blues; I'm Going Away to Wear You Off My Mind; Chimes Blues; Weather Bird Rag; Dipper Mouth Blues; Froggie Moore; Snake Rag; Alligator Hop; Zulu's Ball; Workingman's Blues; Krooked Blues; Mabel's Dream; Southern Stomp; Riverside Blues;* plus seven Red Onion Jazz Babies selections. Exciting sounds of a host of early jazz greats!

JOHN COLTRANE

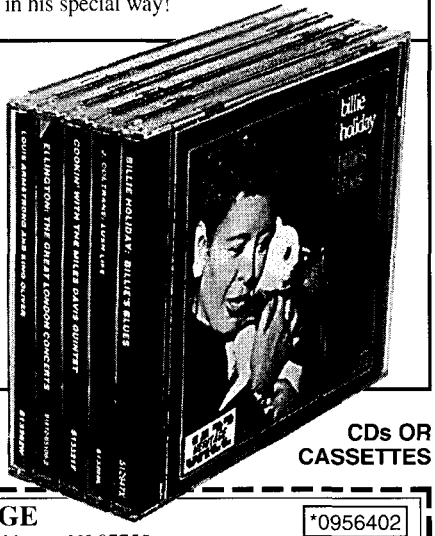
LUSH LIFE. He always remained aware and in control of what he was up to. Coltrane's increasingly melodic adventurousness is apparent here in: *Like Someone in Love; I Love You; Trane's Slow Blues; Lush Life;* and *I Hear a Rhapsody.* John Coltrane, *Tenor Sax;* Donald Byrd, *Trumpet,* Red Garland, *Piano;* Earl May, Paul Chambers, *Bass;* Albert Heath, Art Taylor, *Drums.* Coltrane puts it together in his special way!

DUKE ELLINGTON

THE GREAT LONDON CONCERTS. Featuring greats like Johnny Hodges, Jimmy Hamilton, Paul Gonsalves, Cootie Williams, here are: *Take The A Train; Perdido; Caravan,; Isfahan; The Opener; Harlem; Mood Indigo; C Jam Blues; Don't Get Around Much Anymore; Diminuendo and Crescendo in Blue; Single Petal of a Rose; Kinda Dukish & Rockin' in Rhythm.* These recently discovered recordings derive from two London Performances in 1963 and 1964.

BILLIE HOLIDAY

BILLIE'S BLUES. An exceptional recording of an unforgettable voice. Included are: *Blue Moon; All of Me; Them There Eyes; I Cried for You; What a Little Moonlight Can Do; I Cover the Waterfront; Billie's Blues; Lover Come Back to Me; Blue Turning Grey Over You; Be Fair With Me Baby; Rocky Mountain Blues; Detour Ahead;* and *Trav'lin Light.* Drawn from three sources of the Lady during the magic '40s and '50s.


billie holiday
LOUIS ARMSTRONG AND KING OLIVER
ELLINGTON: THE GREAT LONDON CONCERTS
COOKIN' WITH THE MILES DAVIS QUINTET
BILLIE HOLIDAY: BILLIE'S BLUES
JOHN COLTRANE: LUSH LIFE

CDs OR CASSETTES

A JAZZ HERITAGE EXCLUSIVE, AVAILABLE ONLY THROUGH THE CLUB...MAIL THE COUPON NOW!

THE GIANTS OF JAZZ... a fabulous JAZZ HERITAGE exclusive...is available only through the Club! Five blockbuster recordings...on either CDs or Cassettes...can now be yours for only $5.95 plus shipping. This full $65.00 value is your no-risk introduction to JAZZ HERITAGE... and you'll incur no obligation to buy anything ever again!

JAZZ HERITAGE is devoted to bringing you only the finest jazz ever recorded. Month after month, our editors review hundreds of recordings. Only the very best are selected and made available to members... music guaranteed to enrich and entertain as only the world's top jazz can.

FREE Members-Only Magazine. All selections are priced right! Buy as many or as few as you wish from our FREE members-only periodical, *Jazz Heritage Review.* It's sent to you about every 3 to 4 weeks (16 times a year). Each issue is packed with superb jazz recordings, including Main Selections.

Buy only what you want! If you want the Main Selections, do nothing–they'll come automatically. If you'd prefer an alternate selection, or none at all, mail the form provided by the date specified. You'll always have at least 10 days to decide. If the *Review* is delayed, and you receive the Main Selections without having had 10 days to notify us, return them at our expense.

Nothing more to buy...ever! You never have any obligation to buy recordings, and you may cancel membership at any time. Your satisfaction is guaranteed! If not delighted with the Giants of Jazz, return in 30 days for a full refund!

JAZZ HERITAGE *0956402
1710 Highway 35, Oakhurst, NJ 07755

JAZZ HERITAGE

Send the Giants of Jazz in this format:

☐ **CDs** #983A - $5.95

OR

☐ **CASSETTES** #989Z - $5.95

☐ **YES!** I enclose $5.95. Send the Giants of Jazz–on either CD or Cassette format as checked at left below–and bill me later for shipping and handling. Enter my FREE magazine subscription and set up an account in my name. I may cancel at any time, and I incur no purchase obligation whatever.

NAME _____ (Please Print)

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

☐ Payment Enclosed ☐ Bill My Credit Card ☐ MC ☐ VISA ☐ AMEX

Card No. _____ Exp. Date __/__

Signature _____

☐ Send FREE information about Musical Heritage Society, the no-purchase-obligation club for classical music lovers!

Limited to new members; one membership per family. We reserve the right to reject any application and to cancel any membership. Shipping, handling and applicable sales tax added to all orders. Offer valid only in the 48 connecting United States.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Jewish people, for Soviet people, to destroy the Communist empire.' And he said, 'Yes, that is my job.' " Yes, that was his job.

■ A friend in Massachusetts passes along a form for renewing your driver's license in the Puritan State. Under "Change of Information" motorists are asked to give, if appropriate, their new mailing address, new residential address, and new—sex. No bureaucratic hassles, just check one of two boxes next to the heading "Change Sex To": "Male" or "Female." That's convenient, but what about drivers who, since last renewing, have become cross-dressers without actually changing their sex? Doesn't the form marginalize guys who would like to be gals but can't afford major surgery? We trust that next year's form will reflect a greater sensitivity to the concerns of the low-income drag-queen community.

Big Bang

IN only three days, Sen. William Roth's hearings on the IRS's trampling of taxpayers' rights triggered a far greater public outcry than six months of Sen. Thompson's hearings on campaign-finance misdeeds. Overnight polling by *USA Today*/CNN revealed that 69 per cent of the public believes the IRS "frequently abuses its powers." For the first time since Ronald Reagan helicoptered away from the White House on January 20, 1989, the GOP has a golden opportunity to regain the high ground on tax reduction.

The Republican opportunity is all the greater since the Clinton Administration has blundered by defending the IRS as currently constituted. Treasury Secretary Robert Rubin, sound on trade and inflation, reverted to big-government liberalism by repeating as a mantra: "The IRS is funding the government." Huh? It is America's *taxpayers* who pay government bills, not the tax-collection agency. What is more, Rubin and his redistributionist deputy, Lawrence Summers, have persuaded President Clinton to oppose a bipartisan recommendation from Congress for an independent IRS oversight board which would include government officials *and* private citizens. (Clinton wants only officials on any proposed board.) This approach is backed by the National Treasury Employees Union, Americans for Tax Reform, the National Taxpayers Union, the Institute of CPAs, the National Federation of Independent Business, the American Payroll Association, and the National Association of Enrolled Agents.

But the Republican Congress has even bigger fish to fry. The heart of the problem is an indecipherable tax code which must be completely overhauled. So the GOP must harness the nation's anger at the IRS in the service of big-bang tax reform. The GOP leadership's current plans for a business-as-usual tax cut in 1998 must be scrapped. It will lack credibility and is likely to be just as complex and ineffectual as the 1997 bill. Nor is there any sense in waiting three more years—a political eternity—for the 2000 presidential race. Instead, Messrs. Lott and Gingrich should create a working group—perhaps a bipartisan panel with a three-month life—charged with crafting a proposal to be submitted in early 1998.

The debate over Bill Archer's retail sales tax and Dick Armey's flat tax has gone on long enough and must be settled. The proposals are two sides of the same consumption-based coin. Both are broad-based single-rate systems that would disallow the multiple taxation of savings, investment, capital gains, corporate profits, interest, dividends, and inheritances. Each would be simple, each fair. Each would engender a drastic rollback of IRS authority. And each would significantly raise after-tax economic returns, making a 4 per cent economic growth path a plausible twenty-first-century goal.

Of course, there is a risk that a 17 per cent flat income-tax rate might be sharply raised by a future Congress—unless a two-thirds super-majority is required. There is an equal risk that a 15 per cent sales tax might be supplemented, European-style, by a resurrected income tax if the Sixteenth Amendment is not repealed.

If big-bang tax reform must take place in stages, Cato economist Stephen Moore's Max-Tax plan would be a useful transition. This proposal offers taxpayers the option of paying a simple 25 per cent rate on gross income, with a dollar-for-dollar credit for Social Security and Medicare payroll taxes—in effect, a 10 per cent tax rate for taxpayers making less than $60,000 and a 25 per cent rate for those making more than $60,000. Another broad-based option would eliminate all means-tested limits to the Roth Super IRA, allowing unlimited saving of after-tax income with only capital gains taxed at the back end. It would be a perfect vehicle for private investing of retirement-directed payroll taxes, medical insurance premiums, or education savings accounts.

The IRS revolt shows the way. Now is the time for the GOP to think big—and act quickly.

A Reno Divorce

FOR the last 12 months, Attorney General Janet Reno has repeatedly assured us that she and her prosecutors are doing "a very professional, a very fine job," investigating the charges swirling around the President and Vice President. And there is a lot to probe: money laundering, possible espionage, foreign contributions, bribery, conspiracy, perjury, tax fraud, obstruction of justice. Last week, Miss Reno told Congress she was unaware of any "specific and credible evidence" suggesting that Clinton or Gore engaged in criminal conduct. Well, that is understandable. She never looked.

Miss Reno prevented FBI agents from investigating Clinton's and Gore's conduct; she learned about the existence of some two hundred coffee-klatch videotapes from *Time*; she learned that Gore's calls for cash from the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Nativity Cross

At it's center, a stone from the birthplace of Christ

Ricardo Montalban who introduced the Nativity Cross on television reveals its remarkable story...

"This is the Nativity Cross, the most unique cross in history. In 1963, renovations were made to the Cave of the Nativity in Bethlehem -- the recognized birthplace of Jesus Christ. The Mayor of Bethlehem approved the shipment of excavated stones from the Cave to the United States, where they have been in safekeeping for many years.

Now you can share these sacred stones through the Nativity Cross. My devout wish is that when you receive the Nativity Cross for yourself or to give to a loved one, it will help you draw closer to the only true answer in these uncertain times, our Lord Jesus Christ."

Ricardo Montalban and The Nativity Cross

A portion of the proceeds is donated to maintain the Cave of the Nativity

What better way to share Christ's love than with a Nativity Stone that was present at His very birth. A gift every Christian would cherish, The Nativity Cross adds special significance to any occasion:

- Christmas and Easter
- Birthdays
- Weddings and Anniversaries
- Baptism or Christening
- Mother's Day and Father's Day
- First Communion and Confirmation

The Nativity Cross is available in sterling silver with 22k gold finish star (shown), sterling silver, 22k gold finish, and 14k solid gold. Choose from two sizes: Classic (2" high) and Classic Small (1-3/8" high).

Each Cross comes beautifully gift-boxed with a numbered Certificate of Authenticity plus a free video sharing the story of the Nativity Stones.

This sacred heirloom will be cherished for generations to come. But remember, only a limited number of Nativity Stones are available.

To order, please fill out and mail to: Nativity Stones, Dept. NR1027, P.O. Box 4525, Pacoima, CA 91333.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Phone _____

☐ Check enclosed payable to Nativity Cross

Bill my: ☐ Visa ☐ MC ☐ AmEx ☐ Discover

Acct. # _____

Exp. Date _____

Signature _____

For fastest service on credit card orders, call

1-800-364-9898

Item	Price Ea.	Qty	Total
Classic Cross, 2" high			
Sterling silver w/ 22 k gold finish star, and sterling chain	$105.00	____	____
22k gold finish, and chain	$ 59.95	____	____
14k solid gold, and black satin cord	$295.00	____	____
Sterling silver, and sterling chain	$ 95.00	____	____
Classic Small Cross, 1-3/8" high			
Sterling silver w/ 22k gold finish star, and sterling chain	$ 87.00	____	____
22k gold finish, and chain	$ 59.95	____	____
14k solid gold, and black satin cord	$179.00	____	____
Sterling silver, and sterling chain	$ 79.00	____	____
		Subtotal	____
		CA residents, add 8.25% sales tax	____
		Shipping, any quantity	$ 9.95
		TOTAL	____

Satisfaction guaranteed or return within 30 days for a refund of the purchase price.

NR1027

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

White House were, in fact, illegal by reading the *Washington Post*; she prevented investigators from questioning Gore about his role in an illegal fundraiser at the Hsi Lai Buddhist temple; and she failed to alert the White House of China's efforts to influence federal elections.

This behavior is unsurprising. Miss Reno is a compliant attorney general. She prosecuted former Travel Office chief Billy Dale despite his innocence; she tried to stop Donald Smaltz, the independent counsel who indicted former Agriculture Secretary Mike Espy, from expanding his probe; she delayed the appointment of a Whitewater special prosecutor; and she directed government lawyers to file briefs in Paula Jones's sexual-harassment suit supporting Clinton's civil-immunity claim—which the Supreme Court rejected, 9 to 0. And now she uses dubious legalisms to block the appointment of an independent counsel to investigate the campaign-finance scandal.

Things looked different on May 14, 1993, when Janet Reno embraced the independent-counsel law. She told the Senate Governmental Affairs Committee: "The Independent Counsel Act was designed to avoid even the appearance of impropriety in the consideration of allegations of misconduct by high-level Executive Branch officials, and to prevent either actual or perceived conflicts of interest. The Act thus served as a vehicle to further the public's perception of fairness and thoroughness in such matters, and to avert even the most subtle of influences that may appear in an investigation of highly placed executive officials. It is a measured, appropriate response to a limited but serious problem . . ." Another appropriate response would be for Congress to impeach Janet Reno.

Seeing Things Plain

WHAT marked the International Conservative Congress in Washington (see Matthew Scully's report, page 30) was neither optimism nor pessimism, but fusionism—Frank Meyer's doctrine that economic libertarians and social traditionalists should join in opposing the liberal state. There is, of course, much more to oppose now than in Meyer's day, when government had not yet had the bright idea of handing out condoms to pre-teens. And there are more hyphenated conservatives to indulge in factional fights. Yet by the end of the congress's 25 lively panels and debates, most of those present were converging around a broad conservative agenda: restraining government by radical tax reform; reining in the courts and regulatory agencies to restore power to the people and their elected representatives; strengthening the "little platoons" of social life and the civic virtues they engender; and defending the nation's sovereignty against the threat of international regulation. This last issue was clearly stimulated by the forthcoming Kyoto conference on climate change, which is expected to create a new body to control carbon emissions worldwide. But as supranational bodies increasingly flex their muscles, conservatives will naturally spring to the defense of democratic nationhood.

Significantly, themes that emerged from the floor debates were echoed independently in the platform speeches. Newt Gingrich embraced not merely radical tax cuts, but also an early passage of the Canady bill uprooting racial preferences. William F. Buckley Jr. stressed that mass illegitimacy was incompatible with widespread civic virtue: one of them had to go. And Lady Thatcher summed up the conference's unifying idea as "the defense of the West"—externally by maintaining NATO under American leadership as a shield against terrorism and nuclear proliferation, internally by protecting our common culture, history, and political identity against the acids of multiculturalism, bilingualism, and so on.

And when the wrapping was removed from the "national greatness" conservatism of William Kristol and David Brooks, this second theme turned out to be inside. It is a vitally important theme—perhaps the central theme of conservatism in the next decade. But it will remain a largely rhetorical exercise if immigration remains at levels which discourage assimilation and which may even set in train the cultural "de-assimilation" of minorities born in the United States. And immigration—as a sparkling debate at the Congress confirmed—remains a matter of dispute even among fusionist conservatives.

Madeleine's Bibi Problem

Behind closed doors but not beyond
The ears of flies who correspond,
The two turned shades of purple while
Exchanging such uncivil bile,
The staid King David shook until
The pickles sweated all their dill.

—W. H. von Dreele

Private Security

WHILE America enters a national debate over the future of Social Security, most of us are unaware that a similar debate is already over in the United Kingdom. The British have arrived at a broad consensus: privately funded pensions are superior to government-funded ones.

As Robert Moffit of the Heritage Foundation points out, almost all British workers are enrolled in a basic state pension plan which pays a flat monthly amount. This basic state pension is financed on a pay-as-you-go basis: i.e., current taxes pay for the retirement benefits of cur-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

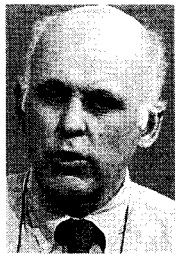
Great Minds of the Western Intellectual Tradition

(Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Moses, Jesus, Marcus Aurelius, Augustine, Aquinas, More, Machiavelli, Bacon, Descartes, Hobbes, Spinoza, Newton, Locke, Berkeley, Hume, Smith, Rousseau, Kant, Burke, Montesquieu, Hegel, Marx, Mill, Kierkegaard, Darwin, Freud, Nietzsche, James, Ayers, Quine, Wittgenstein, Weber, Habermas, Kuhn, Rorty, Foucault, Rawls, Levi-Strauss, etc.)

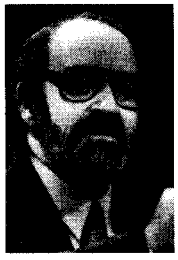
...taught by 6 widely acclaimed lecture professors on audio- and videocassettes

Darren Staloff, Ph.D.
City College of New York

Michael Sugrue, Ph.D.
Princeton University



Dennis Dalton, Ph.D.
Barnard College/Columbia Univ.



Alan Charles Kors, Ph.D.
University of Pennsylvania

THE SUPERSTAR FACULTY ALSO INCLUDES:

Robert Oden, Ph.D., President, Kenyon College
Elizabeth McNamer, Ph.D., Rocky Mountain College

WHAT IS THE PURPOSE OF LIFE? What is the best *kind* of life? Who or what is God? What is the essence of justice? When is it legitimate for one person to have power over others? Can any of these questions be answered?

These are basic riddles of human experience that thoughtful men and women have pondered since the dawn of civilization.

You too must have asked yourself questions like these many times. And perhaps you once vowed that some day you would plow through *all* the great thinkers of the Western world and find your own answers.

But you know you never will. Frankly, it would require a minimum of several years of withdrawal from active life, and devotion to intense effort and concentration.

Now, at last, here is a feasible way to enjoy *the intellectual adventure of a lifetime.* A way you can comfortably grasp the *essence* and *consequence* of each thinker's greatness, in leisure moments in your home or car.

That is the extraordinary opportunity now offered by this unprecedented new audio-video lecture series—*Great Minds of the Western Intellectual Tradition.*

The series is composed of 70 lectures, covering more than 40 of the great minds of the Western world. Each lecture is accompanied by an outline and reading list as an aid, if you wish, to mastering and further exploring the subject.

Over half of the lectures are delivered by Professors Darren Staloff and Michael Sugrue, who for several years electrified students at Columbia University with their sweeping canvas of Western intellectual development. Then to round out the series, there are guest lecturers from the growing Teaching Company treasury of audio and video recordings of America's SuperStar Teachers.

The result is a definitive survey of Western thought by an all-star teaching team with no equal in lecturing skill at any single college campus anywhere else in the world.

With these video or audio recordings of six of America's most widely acclaimed college lecture professors as your guides, you can now follow down through the centuries of mankind's great debate over the meaning of life, and how the ideas put forth shaped and developed our Western civilization of today.

Just listening to these lectures—whether you decide to supplement them by browsing through the texts of the works discussed or not—will give you a grasp of the intellectual history of the Western world possessed by as few as one out of every thousand Americans.

THE CURRICULUM

PART I: Ancient Philosophy and Faith: From Athens to Jerusalem
Introduction to the Problems & Scope of Philosophy; The Old Testament; The Gospels of Mark & Matthew; Paul: His World; Presocratics: Ionian Speculation & Eliatic Metaphysics; Republic I: Justice, Power & Knowledge; Republic II-V: Soul & City; Republic VI-X: The Architecture of Reality; Aristotle's Metaphysical Views; Aristotle's Politics: The Golden Mean & Just Rule; Marcus Aurelius' *Meditations*: The Stoic Ideal; Augustine's *City of God*: Grace, Original Sin & Theodicy
Course No. 401. Video or Audio

PART II: The Age of Faith to The Age of Reason
Aquinas' *Summa Theologica*: The Thomist Synthesis & Its Political & Social Content; More's *Utopia*: Reason & Social Justice; Machiavelli's *The Prince*: Political Realism, Political Science & the Renaissance; Bacon's *New Organon*: The Call for a New Science; Descartes' Epistemology & the Mind-Body Problem; Hobbes' *Leviathan: Of Man*; Hobbes' *Leviathan: Of the Common-wealth*; Spinoza's Ethics: Metaphysics & the Path to Salvation; The Newtonian Revolution; The Early Enlightenment & the Search for the Laws of History: Vico's *New Science of History*; Pascal's *Pensees*; The Philosophy of G.W. Liebniz
Course No. 402. Video or Audio

PART III: The Enlightenment and Its Critics
Locke's Theory of Knowledge; Locke's Political Theory; Montesquieu & the Beginnings of Political Science; Berkeley's Idealism & the Critique of Materialism; Hume's Epistemology; Hume's Theory of Morality; Smith's *Wealth of Nations*; Rousseau's Dissent: The Challenge to the Idea of Progress; Kant's "Copernican Revolution": Epistemology & the Critique of Metaphysics; Kant's Moral Philosophy; Burke & the Birth of Enlightened Conservatism; Naturalism & Materialism: The Boundaries of the Enlightenment
Course No. 403. Video or Audio

PART IV: Philosophy in the Epoch of Ideology
Comte & the Origins of Sociology; Hegel: The Phenomenology of Geist; Hegel's Philosophy of History; Marx & the Problem of Alienation & Ideology; Marx's Historical Materialism; Kierkegaard's Christian Existentialism; Schopenhauer: The World as Will & Idea; The Classical Doctrine of Liberal Democracy: John Stuart Mill's *On Liberty* & *Utilitarianism*; The Darwinian Revolution in Social Thought: William Graham Sumner; Weber's Historical Sociology; Freud & Philosophy
Course No. 404. Video or Audio

PART V: Modernism and the Age of Analysis: Beginnings
Nietzsche's Critique of Christianity: The Genealogy of Morals; Nietzsche's Perspectivalism & Critique of Philosophy; James' Pragmatism; Gadamer: Hermeneutics & the Human Sciences; Bergson's Elan Vital & Vitalism; John Dewey's *Reconstruction in Philosophy*: The Pragmatic Critique of Traditional Philosophy; Levi-Strauss: Structuralist Anthropology; Husserl: Phenomenology & the Life-World; Heidegger: Being & Time; A. J. Ayer's Language, Truth & Logic; The Latter Wittgenstein: The Philosophy of Language; The Frankfurt School
Course No. 405. Video or Audio

PART VI: Modernism and the Age of Analysis: Conclusions
Kuhn's Paradigm Paradigm; Habermas' Critical Theory; Barthes, Semiotics & the Revolt Against Structuralism; Social Justice & Social Democracy in Contemporary Times: *A Theory of Justice* by John Rawls; Alvin Gouldner's *Dark Side of the Dialectic*: Social Theory; Renegade Sociology & Outlaw Marxism; Foucalt: Power, Knowledge & Post-Structuralism; Quine's Ontological Relativism & the End of "Philosophy"; Rorty's Neo-Pragmatism; Jean-Francois Lyotard: the Post-Modern Condition; Conclusion: The Theory of Knowledge & Language; Conclusion: Political, Social & Cultural Criticism & Theory
Course No. 406. Video or Audio

AUDIO ON SALE! $100 OFF ENTIRE COURSE!

To order, mail coupon or call
1-800-TEACH-12
(1-800-832-2412)
please refer to ***Offer Code 5182***
or FAX 703-912-7756

Lifetime Satisfaction Guaranteed!

The Teaching Company®
7405 Alban Station Court, Suite A107
Springfield, VA 22150-2318

Offer Code 5182

Please send me the following Parts from ***Great Minds,*** each consisting of 11-12, 45-minute lectures on audio- or videocassettes in handsome storage cases.

☐ ALL SIX ☐ Part I ☐ Part II ☐ Part III
☐ Part IV ☐ Part V ☐ Part VI

(please check desired format)

☐ Audio*: **SALE**—Entire six-part course, $249.95 (reg. price $349.95) plus $20 S&H. One part, $89.95 plus $5 ea. S&H.

☐ Video*: Entire six-part course, $549.95 plus $20 S&H. One part, $149.95 plus $5 ea. S&H.

**Note: Virginia residents please add 4.5% sales tax.*

☐ Check or Money Order enclosed
☐ VISA ☐ MC ☐ AMEX ☐ Discover

ACCOUNT NUMBER

SIGNATURE EXP. DATE

NAME (PLEASE PRINT)

MAILING ADDRESS

CITY/STATE/ZIP

PHONE *(If we have questions regarding your order)*

☐ **Please send me a free copy of your complete catalog of over 80 courses (no purchase necessary)**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

rent beneficiaries. There is also a second tier to the government system in which benefits are paid on the basis of average earnings over a lifetime of work. Recently, however, the British have had another choice. In 1988, Margaret Thatcher allowed British workers to take a portion of their payroll tax—today almost 5 per cent of earnings—and apply it to a personal pension plan (a British equivalent of the American individual retirement account). Today 73 per cent of all British workers have enrolled in private pension plans. (The U.S. Congress has debated "opting out" as an option for Social Security, but so far has done nothing. See John Attarian [page 42] for the likely results.)

British workers in private plans can expect to do more than twice as well as those who remain in the government pension plan. During the 1980s British private pension investments yielded real returns of about 9 per cent. In the 1990s, this performance continues to improve.

Private pension savings in Britain have also been promoted by generous tax relief. Employer and employee contributions to private pensions—up to 17.5 per cent of salary and even more in the case of older workers—are tax-free. In addition, the capital gains built up in private pension funds are tax exempt, and no taxes are levied on lump-sum private-pension withdrawals of up to one and one half times final salary. Not surprisingly, the British personal savings rate of 11.5 per cent is roughly twice that of workers in the United States.

While the British state-pension system has declined as the main source of retirement income, private plans have more than filled the gap. Today, 89 per cent of retirees get private incomes supplementing the state pension. As a result, British retirees are among the most financially comfortable in the world.

For policymakers, perhaps the most impressive feature of this achievement has been the impact that growth in private savings has had on the national economy. The British workforce, numbering approximately 23 million, has amassed £650 billion (more than a trillion dollars) in private pension funds. This is not just more than any other single country in Europe has; it is more than all the other countries in Europe combined have. As a result, Britain ranks behind only the United States and Japan in the size of its financial assets—and according to the OECD is likely to be able to pay off its entire national debt by 2030. As Mr. Moffit asks: If the nation that invented the welfare state can do this, why can't we?

The Week in Verse

Jeepers creepers!
Who're these Promise Keepers?
Huggers, weepers,
Look who's feminized! —Traditional

From far and near they heard *McCartney's* call,
Those gentle fascists gathered on the Mall,
And came by thousands in their *Nazi* bands
To cry and pray and hold each other's hands.
Patricia Ireland, filled with nameless dread,
Re-poked her broomstick underneath the bed
And mewled they'd come forth to this nation'l space
That women might resume their ancient place.
So, in the kitchen, vacuuming the rug,
They'd give the menfolk time to chat and hug,
Just as the women had to do back when
Their mates felt shame to be thought girlie men.
Earth's conquerors now sip their cappuccino
And talk of "feelings." *Thompson's* cow'd by *Reno*
As, sleuth-like, he discovers one fine day
There's been a (gasp!) "clear pattern of delay."
Indeed! *Dame Janet* sure must that deplore—
While thinking deep about the sins of *Gore*.
So hard she's searched, so lost in deep amaze,
She'll have to take another sixty days.
And after all there is to know is known
Of whom he called for what on's office phone,
Then maybe, as she still tergiversates,
She'll think of *DNC* cash parked with states;
Or *Teamsters' Union* funds no one could swear he
Gave up to *Clinton*, or gave back to *Carey*;
Or videos *Bill* didn't know he'd got
On which there wasn't one illegal thought.

Meanwhile the *GOP* avoids the gaze
Of media moralists—and grabs a raise!
This clueless opposition's no success
Though Clinton champions the *IRS*!

—JUVENAL

Total Confusion

ON September 29, petroleum companies from France, Russia, and Malaysia announced a $2-billion contract with Iran to develop the South Pars gas field. The lead company in the deal—France's Total—has the European Union's backing. This is the biggest foreign investment in Iran since the 1979 revolution—and is in defiance of the U.S. law requiring sanctions against companies that invest in Iranian oil and gas.

An American Administration that was serious about its Iran policy would enforce the law. The brazenness of the French should make it an easy decision. (Total had recently divested itself of most of its American holdings as a precautionary measure, though it still has about $1.6 billion in annual sales in the U.S.) But the Clinton Administration's initial response has been to conciliate. The State Department plans to "study" the Total contract, then approach the EU to see if some European "toughening" toward Iran would justify a waiver of sanctions.

Nothing more than a fig leaf can be expected from the Europeans. The U.S. would do better to make an exam-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ple of Total. Few companies would be eager to forfeit their American operations for the privilege of trading with the mullahs. The law, if anything, should be strengthened—to close loopholes and to go after the Russians, who continue to sell weapons and nuclear technology to the Iranians. If it goes unenforced, every company in the world will see that trading with Iran is cost-free—and America's Iran policy will collapse.

Heated Rhetoric

LOOKING ahead to the United Nations' December conference in Kyoto on global warming, President Clinton and Vice President Gore brought one hundred television weather forecasters to the White House to pitch them on the subject. (CNN won't need to be proselytized: it has already canceled, as unsuitable, a series of ads by global-warming skeptics.)

The Administration does well to focus its efforts on the electronic media, because the unsustainability of the whole global-warming hypothesis has been breaking into print. *Science* magazine's most recent survey of the relevant studies says it remains an open question whether global warming is a reality. The *New York Times* science section recently gave an entire page to a discussion of the relation between global climate change and fluctuations in the brightness of the sun. If the sun controls the climate, then greenhouse gases, the internal-combustion engine, and the Industrial Revolution dwindle in importance—as do UN conferences and international treaties.

The past decade has seen *no* upward trend in measured temperatures. All the enviro-scaremongers have to go on is computer modeling, which is only as good as the assumptions of the modelers, who, as it happens, are paid by the government that says catastrophe looms.

NOTES & ASIDES

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

Allow me to point out a minor historical error in your column "Princess Di, RIP," reprinted in NATIONAL REVIEW, September 29: You refer to Prince Charles as "the descendant of Henry VIII." Charles and the present Queen trace their descent through the Stuarts, descended from James I, the great-great-grandson of Henry VII (not VIII) and the great-grandson of Henry VIII's sister Margaret, who wed James IV of Scotland. Henry VIII sired three monarchs, none of whom produced any children. History is full of jests. (In terms of morality, the present royals appear to be descended from Charles II.)

Doubtless your mind was fogged (only momentarily, of course) by the excess of media coverage of Diana's death. Now that you have recovered, you can probably rattle off the genealogies and accession dates of every British monarch beginning with Caractacus.

Trivial historical errors are forgivable, and I remain a fan.

Cordially,
J. Stephen Lang
Seminole, Fla.

Dear Mr. Lang: Thanks. We like the way you say things. We're rusty on Caractacus but will catch up before the next obituary. Cordially, WFB

Dear Mr. Buckley:

England's reigning monarch is descended from the early Hanoverian monarchs through James Stuart's eldest daughter, James being descended, through his father, Henry Lord Darnley (married to Mary, Queen of Scots), from Henry VII by way of Margaret Stuart (three marriages: James IV of Scotland; Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus; and Henry Stuart, Lord Methven). The succession was finally determined by the usurpation known as the Act of Settlement, 1701, with consequences that we are witnessing today.

Respectfully,
Kalman I. Nulman
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Nulman: 1701 was indeed a bad year. Captain Kidd was hanged for piracy, the War of the Spanish Succession began, and King Charles of Sweden invaded Poland. On the other hand, Yale was founded. Cordially, WFB

■ Dear Bill,

This summer ABC aired a *Wheel of Fortune* program. The contestants were two women and a blond fellow in his early thirties from Charlotte, North Carolina, who professed that his ambition is to be an actor.

The challenge in this round was to aver the title and the author. All the boxes were eventually filled as shown:

G	U	L	L	I	V	E	R	'	S					
T	R	A	V	E	L	S								
B	Y													
J	O	N	A	T	H	A	N							
S		I		T										

Now it was the young man's turn. He was unable to guess either of the two remaining letters to win his thousands of dollars.

Imagine what his plight would have been had the challenge been to aver:

H-A-M-L-E-T P-R-I-N-C-E O-F D-E-N-M-A-R-K
B-Y W-I-L-L-I-A-M S- -A-K-E-S-P-E-A- -E.

From the
D-E-S-K O-F R-E-I-D B-U- -K- -E-Y

—WFB

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ON THE SCENE

Male Call

RICH LOWRY

Frederick H. Carlson

WASHINGTON, D.C.

ON a morning when Washington's Mall is not a particularly congenial place for her, NOW leader Patricia Ireland is in her element. NOW activists are waving red "Fight the Radical Right" signs at the long lines of Promise Keepers passing by on their way to their rally. Members of the Lesbian Avengers are cavorting in purple satin capes. And Miss Ireland is surrounded by a dozen seven-foot tall cardboard reproductions of supposedly damning quotes by PK leaders, labeled at the top, "Patriarchy Keepers." Miss Ireland warns the assembled media that PK "call[s] for an authoritarian, theocratic society where Christian men control everything."

An example of what has Miss Ireland so exercised is not too far away, on his hands and knees in front of the PK stage, wearing a bandanna to hold back his shoulder-length black hair, a silver-cross earring dangling from his ear, biceps that rival those of Buster Douglas bulging from his T-shirt. He's Bob McAllister, age 34, a paramedic from Broward County, Florida, who was adopted by an Irish Catholic family as a Mexican orphan and is known to all his friends as "Taco."

When it comes to women, Taco's recent specialty was seduction. "Women were my god," he says. And, by his own account, Taco worshiped frequently, offering to his women friends the full array of his charm and personal services—including massage and nail-painting—in exchange for commitment-less sex. It worked so well that a couple of years ago Taco contemplated opening a nail-painting business called "Chippen-nails," featuring hunks like himself wearing tuxedo ties and tights shorts.

The turn in Taco's life came when about two years ago, he attended a local church, thinking it an opportunity "to dog more women." But soon enough he had become an evangelical Christian, and his dogging days were over. "God," he says, "is renewing my thoughts and heart so women aren't a sex toy." Everywhere he goes now, Taco hands out tapes from "Pastor Bob," the leader of a huge Fort Lauderdale church, and he quotes Scripture to anyone who will listen. Taco says his pizza-delivery guy got "saved," as did his insurance woman. In fact, it seems hard to spend any time near Taco and not get saved. He made the twenty-hour trip by car with two paramedic friends to attend the PK event: "This," he explains, "is a total God thing, man."

PK's God thing on the Mall attracted hundreds of thousands of men, some, like Taco, unlikely-looking evangelical Christians, but many in shorts, T-shirts, and baseball caps, as if they had just left their backyard barbecue pits: Hank Hill marches on Washington. It was quite possibly the most polite throng ever to gather in the nation's capital. The good nature of the assembly underscored what, after all, is the point of PK: personal transformation through faith in Jesus Christ.

It's a point critics often miss. If PK isn't political, they ask, why gather in the nation's capital at all? Part of the answer clearly is press attention. Nearly one thousand reporters registered to cover the event. They would gather for daily briefings in the cavernous press tent, the outside of which, with its series of white peaks, looked like the top of the new Denver airport. The reporters would fire skeptical questions at PK leaders, who would constantly invoke Jesus in their answers, creating a somewhat dissonant scene. Jonathan Edwards meets CNN: "Sir, can you please tell us exactly how many sinners in the hands of an angry God you expect today?"

The PK rallies are in an American tradition of populist religious revivals going back to Edwards. What's different is that PK is packaged for the modern male, so the events have the trappings of a football game or rock concert. There are the huge speakers and jumbo screens reminiscent of a U2 concert; the T-shirts of avid fans ("Real Men Love Jesus," "His Pain Your Gain," etc.); and, finally, the cheering and chants. Just before the Mall rally, a PK cameraman on a 12-foot high platform shouts to the crowd, "Give me a 'J,'" on through the rest of the letters until he asks: "What does that spell?" Hundreds of men shout: "JESUS!"

The actual program is mostly a six-hour prayer service, with PK men jammed toe to toe on the grass of the Mall, hanging in trees, spilling onto the gravel walkways, spread out into nearby side streets where they listen to the service on portable radios. The men sing hymns, pray holding each other's hands, and look up scriptural references in special-edition "Stand in the Gap" Bibles, which sit in four-foot high piles behind the stage. Participants are exhorted to develop a better relationship with Christ, then take their strengthened Christian commitment back home to their family and their local church.

Promise Keepers is packaged for the modern male—events have the trappings of a football game or rock concert.

Mr. Lowry is NR's *national political reporter.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Many of the men are already evangelicals, and for them PK seems to function as a mass support group. But PK's founder, coach Bill McCartney, has larger ambitions for PK, hoping for a new Great Awakening that will take back the country for the forces of morality. It's in this connection that many of the PK men resort to martial imagery. One guy on the Mall is in full camouflage dress with a sign on his back, "God's Army." "This is about spiritual warfare, brother," says one of Taco's friends, and on a prayer walk through a D.C. neighborhood the day before the rally he compares himself and his friends to "spiritual Rambos."

In their walk through the tony neighborhood of Woodley Park, Taco and Co. pray for anything that moves. One of their first quarries is a young couple that has just stepped out of a neighborhood church with their newborn baby. The men ask if they can pray for the child, and then hold hands in a circle on the sidewalk. After Taco gives them a Pastor Bob tape and one of his friends warns them about a "demonic attack on children today" it seems the couple's smiles have turned merely polite. But as Taco's pack walks away, the new father calls out: "You guys going to do this every year? We need it in this city."

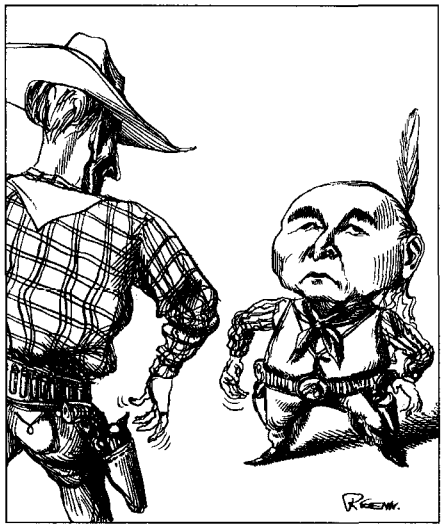
Not everyone is so welcoming. Late in the afternoon the day of the rally, a group of Lesbian Avengers and NOW activists is protesting in an area roped off by the police. A couple of the women have taken off their shirts, presenting a sagging tableau straight out of *National Geographic*. As the protesters chant, "Hey, hey, ho, ho, this sexist hate has got to go!" PK attendees alternately gawk, pray, and shout. Some of them are shamed away by the voluble admonitions of a black woman that the protest is a distraction of Satan, which, given the scene inside the police tape, seems as plausible an explanation as any.

At bottom, PK's critics have a problem with the group because they view the world only in terms of power. So, the notion that men should exercise "leadership" in their families becomes at least an assault on women's rights and perhaps even an opening to wife-beating. Since the idea of Christian leadership—leadership through service, based on the model of Christ—is alien to them, a mass prayer meeting becomes the occasion for protest. But, in a sense, the critics have a point. Part of the political agenda of the cultural Left is an assault on the traditional family, and basic notions of how men should behave and families be constituted have become controversial. Hence, any effort to bolster the traditional family takes on a certain political charge.

Standing across the street from the PK rally, Kristl Smith, a tall, blonde NOW activist, isn't ready to concede anything. Asked about a banner on display on the Mall reading, "Men against Pornography," Miss Smith explains that she does "have some problem with men being against pornography" because it denies women the right to make money from their bodies. She also complains: "I've been treated as an object so often this week with these Promise Keepers offering me a seat on the Metro." This style of feminism has, of course, seeped into the culture and become an open invitation to treat women as objects in all sorts of much less palatable ways. Fortunately, it's an invitation Taco and his friends are no longer accepting. □

Horse Race

VINCENT CARROLL



Roman Genn

DENVER

NO one will ever mistake Sen. Ben Nighthorse Campbell for a conservative; indeed, he has defeated a few conservatives in his time. Soon Colorado Republicans may be asked by national party leaders to help him vanquish yet another one.

For Campbell is now a Republican, having switched parties in 1995, and the irrepressible Rep. Scott McInnis, who represents much of western Colorado, appears prepared to challenge Campbell for the GOP nomination.

Given Campbell's celebrity status as the only Indian in Congress, such a quest might appear suicidal. After all, the senator boasts by far the more colorful résumé—not just rags to riches, orphanage to nation's capital, but a story of remarkable achievement in several entirely different careers. Indeed, it is almost impossible not to admire the almost manic resolve that took this son of an immigrant mother and an alcoholic father into the ring as a member of the American judo team in the 1964 Tokyo Olympics, then on to the breeding of champion quarter horses and a highly lucrative career designing Indian jewelry.

Campbell projects the don't-crowd-me sort of libertarianism in his personal life that resonates with many Westerners. He skips photo-ops to ride with biker friends; sponsors legislation to lift the federal mandate for motorcycle helmets; attends a California bash to celebrate the end of a two-year parole for Hell's Angel leader Ralph "Sonny" Barger. Campbell is no prettified package dreamed up by image consultants, and voters sense it.

The senator also sings in the old-time Western chorus on land and water issues. "As a Westerner," he thundered at the 1996 GOP convention, "it is important to me that the Republican Party is the party that will protect private-property rights and your right to use the public lands . . . We will not let them take away our birthright." This is no oratorical act. At a hearing last month, the senator dismissed the Sierra Club's proposal to drain Lake Powell as a "certifiable nut idea."

But McInnis is no kamikaze from the Right. He believes that however charismatic a figure Campbell may cut on the national stage, the senator is still just a fledgling Republican with little traction among party regulars back home. Although since Campbell switched parties his Senate votes have moved, quite perceptibly, to the right, he has continued periodically to defect from positions

Mr. Carroll is the editorial-page editor of the Rocky Mountain News.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

on which there is a virtual conservative consensus.

Not only did Campbell vote last year to raise the minimum wage, for example, and protect foreign-aid-funded abortions, he also has declared that the only problem with racial preferences is the fraud that follows in their wake. "The basic framework" of affirmative action, he maintains, "is OK."

When he was a Democrat, his record was far more provocative. Campbell voted for the Clinton tax hike of 1993, praised the introduction of ClintonCare, and generally could be counted upon to smear anyone to the right, say, of George Bush as a "kook" or "extremist." Indeed, insofar as Campbell has never been identified with any of the pressing concerns of the wave of Republicans who took over the Capitol in 1994—welfare and tort reform, wholesale budget cuts, devolution of authority to the states, etc.—his decision to switch parties was, and remains, a puzzlement. Most political observers in Colorado assume Campbell's motives were personal, based upon his estrangement from state Democrats such as Gov. Roy Romer and Denver Mayor Wellington Webb, and his genuine regard for Republicans such as then-Sen. Hank Brown and, ironically, McInnis.

Indeed, Campbell's voting record seems to be related as much to peer expectations as ideological principle. In his final two years as a Democrat, Campbell's Senate votes earned an "F" and a "D" from the National Taxpayers Union. As a newly minted Republican in 1995, he suddenly picked up a "B." This cavalier attitude toward political substance has been a Campbell hallmark since he first ran for office. He spent six years in the Colorado General Assembly, yet freely admitted to his biographer, Herman J. Viola, that "I did not really sponsor any significant legislation when I was in the state legislature."

McInnis, on the other hand, is a straightforward, if somewhat soft-edged, conservative of long standing. His only eyebrow-raising association has been with National Republicans for Choice, and even there his pro-choice sentiments stop well short of a Christie Whitman–type militancy. "I say yes to parental notification," he explained recently, "and no to late-term abortions." He did back a partial-birth abortion ban—but then so did Sen. Campbell.

It is the differences between the two men, of course, that will most interest Republican voters. McInnis supports an end to racial preferences, has spent the past few years badgering the Immigration and Naturalization Service to scoop up more illegal aliens, and consistently racks up grades of "A" or "B" from the National Taxpayers Union. He positively reveled in the GOP House takeover in 1994, and still promotes some of its unfinished agenda, particularly the pledge to pursue tort reform.

So far, McInnis has refused to wilt before the parade of heavyweights trooping toward his opponent.

McInnis has been raising money energetically, and hints that he already has a campaign team in place. Campbell meanwhile has enlisted former Sen. Hank Brown and two other former officeholders respected in local conservative ranks to help manage his re-election campaign. The senator is clearly counting on such establishment Republicans to give him conservative cover, and to prevent a primary altogether if they can.

Beltway Republicans in particular seem determined to deny Colorado conservatives a choice of candidates. "The big point is that if a guy switches from the Dems to the GOP and then gets kicked in the head in a primary, what does that say to the next guy who may think about switching?" asks Clifford May, communications director of the Republican National Committee. May's boss, RNC chairman Jim Nicholson, made a personal appeal to McInnis in late September to the effect that the congressman should wait his turn. Everyone from Dan Quayle to Trent Lott has indicated a willingness to plump for the senator's re-election.

So far, McInnis has refused to wilt before the parade of heavyweights trooping toward his opponent. "Not one of the people who've urged me to stay out of the race has said we have a good senator and good representation," McInnis observed the other day. If he was looking for an unimpeachable reason to run, he just found it. □

House of Porn

JONATHAN FOREMAN

NEW YORK CITY

IT was a very special night at Mother, Chi Chi Valenti's nightclub in Manhattan's meatpacking district. Of course every night is a special night on the corner of 14th and Hudson: it is one of the last places in the city that feels genuinely and excitingly tawdry and decadent. The streets are cobbled and dark, rusty hooks swing outside the meat warehouses, and the occasional transvestite or transsexual prostitute clicks her heels past the clubbers waiting behind a velvet rope.

Tuesday nights the club is called "Jackie 60," a celebration of the late First Lady's style. Saturday is "Click and Drag" night—an evening devoted to cyber-fetishism—about which more later. But this Saturday, Chi Chi, looking, in her top hat and veil, as if she had just run off the set of a Jack the Ripper movie, was holding a "Fetish for Freedom" benefit party for a group called "Feminists for Free Expression." And, most bizarre of all, NATIONAL REVIEW was on the guest list. For the keynote speaker was Camille Paglia, a hero to libertarians, but on college campuses one of the most hated women in America.

Prof. Paglia was not the only draw. Guests at the benefit were invited to mingle with some of the porn world's most flamboyant and accomplished notables. Betty Dodson, author of *Sex for One*, was said to be coming, as was Candida Royalle, the pioneer maker of erotic films for women and couples. After the fundraiser we were all invited to stay for the cyber-fetish night, but only if we conformed to the strict dress code: Victorian, Cyber-nerd, Dominatrix, Cyber-slut—or in black from head to toe, "And that includes your shoes," Chi Chi admonished.

Mr. Foreman is a contributing editor at City Journal.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

When I got there around 8:30 the place was already crowded. There was a gaggle of male journalists grabbing at the free drinks, and several middle-aged men and women who had that dour ex-hippie Ruth Messinger look, and were probably public-interest lawyers. A few people looked around with undisguised loathing but could not bring themselves to leave. Pretty girls were everywhere, in boots, leather miniskirts, cocktail dresses, set off against a sprinkling of drag queens wearing spectacular costumes. All the women from Feminists for Free Expression seemed to have the wholesome good looks and charming manners you would expect to find at a PTA meeting in Darien, Connecticut. Most of the straight men around, on the other hand, had the seedy, creepy look you would expect from a fellow who consumes or produces large amounts of pornography. Several times I heard the pick-up line: "So are you a pleasure activist too?"

I didn't know anybody there and I had no idea what Betty Dodson looked like, so I was preparing to use the pleasure-activist line on a stranger when I spotted Al Goldstein. The proprietor of *Screw* magazine was sprawled on an Empire sofa at the back of the room. I recognized him from cable-access TV, where, on a program called *Midnight Blue*, the chubby, white-bearded Mr. Goldstein plays a naked Charlie Rose to equally naked female porn stars. They sit there, the camera occasionally zooming in on the woman's breasts, and Mr. Goldstein asks oddly anticlimactic questions like, "So, how long have you been in the industry?" "Who is your favorite director," and, "Was that film shot on video or 16mm?"

After chatting with the amiable and intelligent Mr. Goldstein, I went downstairs to get some of the FFE literature and on the way was handed a magazine called *PornFree* by a woman in a tiara. On the tables there were some leaflets complaining about Mayor Rudolph Giuliani's "perverted quality-of-life campaign" and advertisements for Miss Vera's academy for men who want to dress and act like ladies. The FFE pamphlets explained that the organization had been set up in January 1992, and that its distinguished advisory board includes Erica Jong, Betty Friedan, and Nadine Strossen, President of the ACLU.

A breathtakingly good-looking blonde in her late thirties wearing an FFE badge came up to me and asked me if there was anything I wanted to know about the organization. She was one of the founders of FFE; she had been a feminist since college, but was a great supporter of Prof. Paglia's campaign against feminist bigotry. The music was very loud at this point, so I hadn't heard her name. She was making a subtle case for the proposition that campus culture was beginning to turn against political correctness when I realized that she was none other than Candida Royalle herself. Unfortunately, before I could ask her about her groundbreaking movies, it was announced that Prof. Paglia was about to speak.

We rushed upstairs. The MC, a fresh-faced cheerleader type, was doing the introduction. Then Camille Paglia bounded on the stage to the cheers of the audience, and after swiveling her hips and punching the air a few times, began to speak.

It was the usual brilliant but slightly

Frederick H. Carlson

crazy performance. She began by praising Betty Dodson and Candida Royalle as, with herself, "founders of the pro-sex line in feminism." She ridiculed Susan Faludi and her best-selling book that claimed there was a "backlash" against women's rights. Then she talked about herself again: her persecution by the feminist establishment, her famous visit to Brown University when security guards had to protect her against students howling for her blood at the behest of their women's-studies professors. She lacerated Catharine MacKinnon and Andrea Dworkin. They and their supporters were "pod feminists"—their ideas about art primitive and philistine, their ideas about language and oppression reheated versions of silly and pernicious Parisian Marxisant theory.

Everything she said was true and reasonable and full of insight but couched in such a way that it seemed extreme and slightly absurd. For a professor, her speech was a shockingly disorganized rant—sometimes too crude, sometimes too subtle for her audience, the obsessive self-praise alternating with a serious and convincing attack on Michel Foucault. She preened, she insisted on her unique martyrdom at the hands of the politically correct, she showed off her admittedly extraordinary erudition. The enemy is the "Northeast media elite," she said, sounding like Newt Gingrich in the old days. Political correctness is spreading like a stain out of the Ivy League and into our public discourse, spread by "ignorant upper-middle-class white girls." "Hey, I went to an Ivy League School and I'm not an a—hole," one of her fans called out. Miss Paglia conceded that this was possible—after all, she herself has a graduate degree from Yale—then went on to defend Marv Albert and advocate the dilution of American rape laws. When an undergraduate sleeps with a guy after a drunken party and then regrets it, or a scoutmaster fondles a boy in his charge, that isn't rape, she said. Some of the lawyers looked appalled. "What about Anita Hill?" someone called from the back. Clarence Thomas was about to get the Paglia thumbs-up when she decided instead to continue her attack on Derrida, Lacan, and Foucault, prompting a middle-aged man in the front to explode in anger.

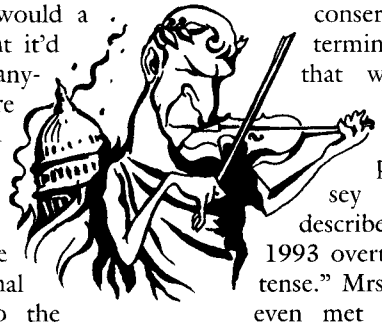
For a while it looked as if he and Miss Paglia were going to exchange blows. But then a young woman asked her about men—did she really have no grievances against them? Miss Paglia explained that she had always been able to handle men, "and I never needed a lawyer or a grievance committee." She then warned that men mustn't be emasculated by the culture. We "should be more tolerant of male obnoxiousness," she said; it is all part of what enables men "to get it up." There were loud cheers at this point, and Prof. Paglia took the opportunity to bound off the stage and into the night.

For some time, many of those present wore a somewhat dazed expression. But the party continued. A few hours later, someone explained to me what "cyber-fetishism" was all about; like most things in cyberspace it is inferior to the real thing. As for "cyber-nerds," it is nice that somebody finds them attractive, but I just don't get it. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BREAD & CIRCUSES

GOVERNOR Christine Todd Whitman, who built her political career by challenging out-of-touch incumbents, now faces an unexpected struggle in her own New Jersey re-election bid. Winning a second term was not supposed to be this hard, especially against State Sen. Jim McGreevey, a candidate unknown to most voters less than a month before the election. "She's certainly not running as well as we thought she would a year ago. . . . We thought it'd be a landslide against anybody. . . . Our hopes were too high," explains Donald DiFrancesco, GOP President of the New Jersey Senate.



Those high hopes were widely shared. The national GOP hoped to tap into the Whitman "magic" by showcasing her as co-chairman of the convention last year. And even before Bob Dole had popped the vice-presidential question, Mrs. Whitman rejected him, explaining that she was going to devote her time and attention to the folk of New Jersey.

They are proving an ungrateful lot. Less than a month before the election, Mrs. Whitman has been unable to increase her 10-to-12-point lead against a weak opponent; she enjoys a favorable rating of less than 50 per cent; and she has alienated conservatives who supported her in 1993. Although the governor delivered on her popular promise to cut taxes, she has had no second act to woo voters. And how quickly they forget! Polls indicate that only 32 per cent of voters feel they benefited from the tax cut—down 11 points since June.

Yet the political climate in New Jersey should favor the incumbent. The economy is strong, crime and welfare dependency are down. Gov. Whitman is running a Morning in Monmouth campaign. But voters think she has done too little to address the issues they *now* care about most. Polls find voters are most concerned with auto-insurance rates (New Jersey's are the highest in the country) and property taxes. And they believe Sen. McGreevey would handle these issues better than the governor.

How did she get to this pass? Christie Whitman enjoyed conservative support when she narrowly defeated Gov. Jim Florio in 1993. Two weeks before that election, when she trailed the incumbent by 9 points, her campaign targeted a mailing to 65,000 pro-life households. She won the race by only 26,000 votes.

And there are some New Jersey conservatives who are determined not to provide that winning margin yet again.

Traude Barbiero, president of New Jersey Right to Life, describes Mrs. Whitman's 1993 overtures as a "total pretense." Mrs. Barbiero has never even met with the governor. Although Sen. McGreevey is as opposed to a ban on partial-birth abortions as Gov. Whitman, Mrs. Barbiero does not feel cheated by him. But she sees the governor as a "pro-choice ideologue" whom she wants defeated.

Mrs. Barbiero also calculates that pro-lifers would have more leverage with a "weak liberal" like McGreevey serving with a Republican legislature. "The horror of the Whitman administration has been its ability to punish and reward pro-lifers in its own party," she declares.

Similarly, veteran conservative activist John Tomicki explains that there is a "strong constituency saying both parties don't represent traditional family values." But two pro-life gubernatorial candidates have now stepped forward.

The New Jersey Conservative Party was started in 1992 because, as one of its founders says, "New Jersey doesn't have two parties—there are two wings of the incumbent party." Rich Pezzullo, its gubernatorial candidate, is running with a slate of 82 others in the hopes of "building a second party, not a third."

Murray Sabrin, a fifty-year-old professor of finance at Ramapo College, is the Libertarian Party candidate. Prof. Sabrin has qualified for more than $300,000 in matching funds, which permits him to appear in the three candidate debates. Unsurprisingly, Prof. Sabrin supports school choice and cuts in government spending, and opposes racial preferences. But he is also pro-life and backs curbs on immigration—which gives him potential support beyond the usual libertarian faithful.

Until recently, his campaign literature consisted of wonkish policy papers, befitting a college professor. But his campaign is now stepping up, and his radio ads pledge to cut auto-insurance rates by 50 per cent through deregulation: "Think about it. Your long-distance rates dropped with deregulation. So will car insurance." He plans to run TV ads accusing Gov. Whitman and Sen. McGreevey of being "two sides of the same liberal coin," both favoring more spending, partial-birth abortions, quota hiring, welfare for non-citizens, and billions in new debt.

McGreevey remains unknown to most voters, even though he is a mayor and state senator. The genial, articulate Sabrin is currently well known to his family, friends, and students. He is at 3 per cent in the polls. His campaign strategists are banking on free publicity from the debates. Sabrin will probably pull some anti-Whitman voters from McGreevey. But if his support reaches double digits, Mrs. Whitman would be in serious trouble.

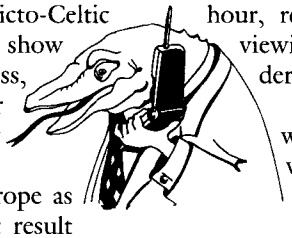
CURRENT polls show conservative Republicans as among the least likely to vote in November. They also reveal that these voters don't understand the "libertarian" label. But Prof. Sabrin's positions on the issues do enjoy strong support: 44 per cent of men and 54 per cent of women are more likely to vote for a candidate who supports a ban on partial-birth abortion—as are 57 per cent of Catholics, who make up 52 per cent of New Jersey's electorate. A Republican strategist explains that partial-birth abortion has made the label "pro-life" a plus in New Jersey this year.

In the past, conservatives have been persuaded to support liberal Republicans out of fear of Democrats. In New Jersey, many are more fearful of a second term for Christie Whitman. One conservative strategist explains, "If Whitman loses in New Jersey, you wouldn't see a Rockefeller Republican again. They would all become Democrats, which they should." —KATE O'BEIRNE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

GEKKO

SOME people think I'm far too narrow-minded about European Monetary Union, that I'm unwilling to consider the positive side of the EMU story, that I'm just another Anglo-Saxon chauvinist. That's probably true (except that I'm more Picto-Celtic than Anglo-Saxon). Just to show my new open-mindedness, I'm going to give the other side a hearing in my very own space.



"The constitution of Europe as an economic unit will not result in the disappearance of nations, but the community of interests will to a large extent create a political community. [A monetary union should be established] on the basis of a European fixed-exchange-rate mechanism, guaranteed by unifying the methods of monetary creation and the management of central banks."

Who among the current European leaders could not agree with such sentiments? True, the quote is taken from a 1941 editorial in a pro-Nazi French newspaper, *La Vie Industrielle*, but that doesn't mean we should question the wisdom of the Eurocratic class, does it? Human nature has changed so much in the intervening years, after all, thanks to modern methods of social engineering.

Or maybe it hasn't. In which case, you might want another piece of advice from yours truly, which is to sell any British gilts (T-bonds) you might have. Or short them against the German Bunds. There has been an irrational runup in the price of British government bonds based on the misapprehension that the British public is going to change its mind and go along with joining EMU. But it won't. And gilts have gone from being undervalued pieces of paper at the beginning of the year—you will recall I liked them against the European bonds—to being overpriced ones today. The smart money will soon sell them.

■ Some in the merger-and-acquisition arbitrage community are concerned that MCI may find a way to fend off WorldCom's takeover bid. They needn't worry about that. The WorldCom people have a hitherto secret plan to counter resistance. They'll just call MCI executives at home, at the dinner hour, repeatedly, and insist on reviewing the savings possible under the takeover plan.

Not that such cruel tactics will be necessary. WorldCom will win because its stock is so highly valued that even with the premium it's paying for MCI, the deal will be accretive to earnings. In other words, WorldCom is paying out Confederate money and getting real assets in return, and so it can afford to keep up what has been a perpetual-motion machine. And apart from the clever manipulation of Wall Street by a hick from Mississippi, WorldCom is winning because Bernie Ebbers really is a superior operating manager who has organized a better team.

The greyer among you will recall a similar perpetual-motion machine back in the Sixties and Seventies, called ITT. It used to be a telecommunications company before it was turned into a gambling company, and its earnings were kept up by a series of deals in which it bought cheap assets in return for expensive stock. It grew so powerful that it was credited or blamed with the overthrow of the government of Chile and the corrupting of Richard Nixon.

"Just because you're a big executive, that doesn't give you the right to bully the others. Now tell everyone you're sorry, and then go sit in the time-out chair."

Eventually, of course, perpetual-motion machines based on acquisitions run out of motion and become not so perpetual. The high-priced stock becomes lower-priced stock, some acquisitions turn out to be trouble incarnate, and the genius at the top—Harold Geneen in ITT's case—cannot clone himself. So for the past few years ITT has been gradually disassembled by the following generation of investment bankers.

Not that WorldCom's story will be over once the MCI deal is closed. But if they were underestimated before, Ebbers and WorldCom are getting close to being overestimated. By buying MCI, WorldCom is jumping into the nickel-and-dime, high-marketing-cost consumer market it has avoided up to now. Future gains in margins and market share will be harder to come by. This coming weakness isn't foreshadowed by a weaker stock price because the usual merger-and-acquisitions arbitrage players were so badly burned by the failed BT–MCI deal that they are reluctant to sell WorldCom short.

■ Another stock that seems ripe for profit taking is Newport News Shipbuilding (NNS). As all you loyal readers will recall, you bought it after the spinoff from Tenneco last year when I recommended it at $13 a share. Now that it is around $24 to $26 and you have nearly doubled your money, why not let someone else make whatever money is left to make? Be generous to the next speculator and sell it.

■ I saw a headline in Moscow's *Kommersant* daily about a "Bill Gates–Satan deal." Any customer or competitor of Microsoft may have wondered about such a deal in the past, but it turns out that the Russians were referring to something entirely different, that is, a Gates contract to use SS-18 "Satan" missiles to launch communications satellites. The cover story about "communications satellites" is all very well, but, if I were Larry Ellison of Oracle, I would buy one of those lasers that the Bond villains have at their disposal, since the U.S. forces won't be able to protect him.

■ I have received over a hundred replies to my E-mail offer of Di jokes. All will be answered. If you have any questions about this column, the address is still dizard@msn.com. —JOHN DIZARD

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CAPITAL SCENE

The New Malaise?

MATTHEW SCULLY

Frederick H. Carlson

WASHINGTON, D.C.

YOU know it's time to call the troops together when conservatives start talking about "malaise." What's next for the Republican leadership—killer rabbits?

At the International Conservative Congress here last month, one heard two explanations for this predicament. Look, the optimists argued, the Cold War is won, free markets have been vindicated, liberals have gained power but only by sounding like us. This is victory even if conservatives are not in office to savor it. When your "greatest problem is plagiarism from opponents," George Will remarked, you're doing okay; so "be of good cheer."

The other view recalls H. L. Mencken's definition of the pessimist as a man who, if he smells a rose, looks around for a coffin. But maybe the coffin is really there. The Left, observed *NR* editor John O'Sullivan, rules the White House, Britain, France, Canada, and Italy, with the Right clinging for dear life to Congress, Germany, Australia, and New Zealand. "Why is conservatism failing in its primary political task of gaining and keeping power?"

There was a lot to be sorted out. In the week before the September 27–28 gathering, a few conservatives and libertarians—James Glassman in the *Washington Post*, Virginia Postrel in a *Wall Street Journal* op-ed, Rush on the radio—had faulted the *NR*-sponsored program for gloomy defeatism. And it's true that some of the more downcast prognoses could have been delivered with minor editing at *NR*'s January 1993 conference right there at the Mayflower Hotel. The crisis then was a squandering of the Reagan legacy. Now it was a squandering of the Republican Congress. But in between there had been the Republican revolution, however brief its glory. Politics is what happens while you're planning something else. Who could say then—who can say now—what the next year might bring?

A happy thought, but not much of a strategy. And on hand were a pretty impressive array of speakers from across the map to caution against just such easy-going optimism. If not malaise, something equally worrisome seemed to be dragging down the movement. It was true, as *American Spectator* editor Bob Tyrrell pointed out, that the very presence of so many prominent conservatives—from Will to Margaret Thatcher to William F. Buckley Jr. to Charles Krauthammer to Ralph Reed to Steve Forbes—reflected strength. And, true, co-sponsoring the event were "four of the healthiest think tanks in the country": the American Enterprise Institute, the Claremont Institute, the Heritage Foundation, and the Hoover Institution. These are strengths, all right, but the strengths of opposition. Why were we attending soul-searching conferences while liberals confidently man the executive offices of the Western world?

Teeing up the debate was a Statement of Principles. "Conservatives," it said, "are not anti-government," but rather partisans of limited, decentralized government. This addressed the "national greatness" conservatism lately launched by *Weekly Standard* editor Bill Kristol, who spoke at the opening session—the Honorable Robert H. Bork presiding. A week earlier Kristol and David Brooks of the *Standard* had asked in the *Wall Street Journal*, "How can Americans love their nation if they hate its government?" "Let the Left denigrate the U.S.," Kristol urged us. Government does have its great and legitimate purposes. We should be guided not just by anger, but by "a love of country and an informed patriotism."

There was a bit of stirring among his 450 listeners. Two years after President Clinton himself declared the era of big government over, why should we have to mind our words on the subject? And isn't it the Left that equates "the U.S." with "U.S. Government"? Government is great to the degree it draws on its source of greatness, the Constitution (and, as Harry Jaffa reminded us in a panel debate, the Declaration).

The greatness theme strikes one, however, as more a rhetorical lift than a political doctrine. Great government—limited but clear federal authority, strong national defense, more power to the states, deregulation, reliance on markets, etc.—bears a suspicious resemblance to good government. But maybe the program could use some spiffing up, and that seems to be the idea here: to give conservatism a starched shirt, shiny brass buttons, and Reaganesque handkerchief in the breast pocket. O'Sullivan remarked that it was "bad luck that the [Kristol–Brooks] article came out in the same week as the IRS hearings." More important than Greatness were the concrete policies offered under that banner, and here we had to avoid deluding ourselves with false confidence. "The sensible man," said O'Sullivan, "carries an umbrella when it looks like rain. He

On hand were an impressive array of speakers from across the map to caution against easy-going optimism.

Mr. Scully has been NR*'s literary editor and a speechwriter for Vice President Quayle.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

does not take one out in a heat wave, and he certainly does not leave his umbrella at home in a storm on the grounds that he is demonstrating his faith in the meteorological future."

The IRS hearings came up often during the conference. Clearly Republicans were on to something there. The question was whether they would run with it, as indeed with the other big themes around which a consensus seemed to be gathering: a defense of Western culture, national sovereignty, and, abroad, a unified democratic alliance led by America.

On the tax front, Forbes and his flat tax are going strong. It's a testament to the idea and to the man's perseverance that both survived the Dole–Alexander napalming in New Hampshire and are clearly going to shape the 2000 campaign, all the more strongly with Forbes's broader social themes today. But the best sign was the tax debate between House Majority Leader Dick Armey and Rep. Billy Tauzin.

Armey: "The current tax code is unbearable, insufferable, obnoxious, and will no longer be tolerated by the American people." Tauzin: "There is no more un-American institution in this country than the IRS. The income tax today is incompatible with freedom."

My kind of debate. Tauzin nearly rattled my flat-tax faith by noting that, under Armey's 17 per cent rate, you still have the IRS, whereas a national sales tax would take us back to the pre-Sixteenth Amendment system, with taxes collected at the purchase point. Armey counters that a sales tax turns every merchant into a federal tax agent; that sales taxes have a way of becoming invisible value-added taxes as in Europe; and that a repeal of the Sixteenth Amendment is problematic.

The Frick and Frack of tax reform are off this month on a national debate tour, Armey pledging to support Tauzin's plan should it prevail, and vice versa. (A scrap of news: Speaker Gingrich's press aide informs me that he recently devoured Armey's 1996 book *The Flat Tax*, sending back a zealously annotated copy, suggesting that Armey's plan might have the edge.) The aim is to pass a bill right around next November. "This President," says Armey, "if we get a new tax code on his desk, will look down at that bill, look at the polls, and say to himself, 'This is the stuff legacies are made of.' "

All of the above abuse directed at the IRS proves, incidentally, that the "national greatness" and "anti-government" rhetoric can very easily be combined.

The Saturday panels and speeches were arranged so as to walk us through the philosophical valleys by morning, and espy the political summits just in time for dinner. O'Sullivan had sent us off with a warning that, having vanquished socialism, conservatives had now to contend with the new isms of cultural deconstruction. The Statement echoed this: "Conservatism is the politics of Western self-respect." This means standing against unchecked mass immigration, multiculturalism, bilingualism, diversity, and other euphemisms under which the Left seeks to divide, redistribute, and rule.

Gingrich stepped up with a ringing call to abolish affirmative action and bilingual education outright, probably his strongest words to date. Josef Joffe, columnist for both a major German daily and *U.S. News & World Report*, described the new "isms" as an attempt to create "a gender and racial spoils system" to be overseen by "the omnipotent state." The conservative message should be quite blunt, said Joffe: "E pluribus unum." (Or, as Al Gore has so beautifully put it: "Out of one, many.") But the multicultural man of the hour was Ward Connerly, leader of California's anti-quota initiative. And—let's get this rolling now—not a bad Senate prospect for next year's anti-Boxer Rebellion.

"A one-man march on Washington," as Will described him, Connerly in a Sunday speech reminded us that the diversity debate has to be framed in unflinching terms of "equality under law." Be optimistic, he said, but be willing to "suit up for this, and not be afraid to confront." Debating Connerly on Saturday, Glenn Loury of the Institute on Race and Social Division differed less on abolishing quotas than on the political difficulties.

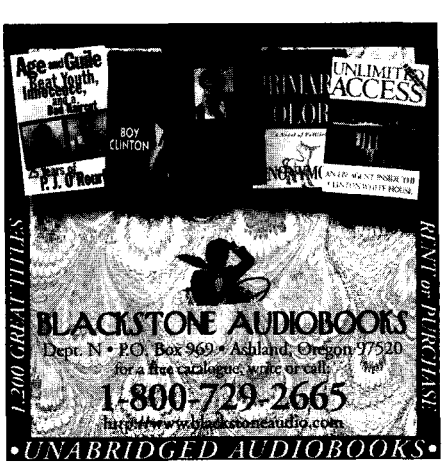
There is no "ism" yet for the Left's immigration project (Goreism?) but this was the subject of an "Immigration: More or Less" debate between Ben Wattenberg (More) and Peter Brimelow (Less). It was Brimelow's *Alien Nation*, versus Wattenberg's *First Universal Nation*. By going to the flat-tax session, one missed that ongoing Texas death match. What's clear, however, is that the Clinton Immigration and Naturalization Service abuses and outbreaks of electoral fraud in California have borne out warnings that Brimelow has been making for years. Margaret Thatcher's words on "the threat to national identity" and "values and institutions that unite us" could have been spoken by Brimelow, Connerly, or Gingrich. Nor would Wattenberg have disagreed with her call to "recognize the priceless asset of a common language."

Guiding us in the loftier philosophical realms were, among others, Buckley, Jaffa, Michael Novak, Hilton Kramer, Irving Kristol, and Fr. Richard John Neuhaus. Novak led us up into Eric Voegelin territory with a reminder that liberalism is at heart a cultural, not merely economic, theory. "It is a gnostic movement. It wants something infinite, it wants it now, and it will destroy anything in its way to attain that power"—with marriage and family the eternal target. Buckley reflected on the illegitimacy rate as cultural signpost: "What can conservatives contribute to alleviating a problem that generated a 600 per cent higher incidence, among children raised by a single parent, of crime, poverty, illiteracy, and drug addiction?" Are we, in confronting moral questions, "suffering from a failure of nerve?"

Human Events editor Terry Jeffrey

(Continues on page 60)

MAKES YOU ALMOST
2" TALLER
SIZES: 5-12
WIDTHS: B-EEE
FINE MEN'S
SHOES
Looks just like ordinary shoes except hidden inside is a height increasing innermold. Choose from a wide selection of Elevators, including dress shoes, boots and casuals. Satisfaction guaranteed. Exceptionally comfortable. Call or write today for your FREE color catalog so you can look 2" taller in almost no time. TOLL FREE 1-800-343-3810
ELEVATORS®
RICHLEE SHOE COMPANY, DEPT. NR70
P.O. Box 3566, Frederick, MD 21705


1,200 GREAT TITLES
RENT or PURCHASE
BLACKSTONE AUDIOBOOKS
Dept. N • P.O. Box 969 • Ashland, Oregon 97520
for a free catalogue, write or call:
1-800-729-2665
•UNABRIDGED AUDIOBOOKS•

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Rating the Presidents

Being a great President requires
the right opportunities,
the right choices, and the right historian.

WALTER A. MCDOUGALL

NO sooner had Bill Clinton won re-election than he reportedly began to fret about his "place in history," thereby inspiring a *Doonesbury* series in which a clutch of historians is invited to the White House for an Arkansas sales pitch. Lyndon Johnson was more methodical. While doing research at the LBJ Library (itself a monument to ego of pharaonic proportions), I discovered that Johnson had commanded all federal agencies to compile voluminous accounts of the great deeds done during his tenure, the better to elevate his standing in history. That was enough to suggest to me that perhaps the best first cut to make is between those of our Presidents who cared about their place in history and those who did not.

Retrospective rating of American Presidents is wonderful sport for historians, if only because reputations are the only things over which we exercise power. So it was that when the Intercollegiate Studies Institute asked me to serve on a panel ranking the Presidents I promptly said yes. I have always envied the baseball writers who get to vote each year on which players deserve to be in the Hall of Fame, and then write columns explaining their ballots. How much more fun to pass judgment on all 41 Chief Executives in American history! The Institute's purpose was undoubtedly to obtain results at variance with Arthur Schlesinger Jr.'s periodic polls, which invariably lionize such Presidents as FDR, Truman, and Kennedy, and discount the achievements of such Presidents as Eisenhower and Reagan. But being a gentleman as well as a scholar I endeavored to muzzle my own politics and rank the Presidents by objective standards. First, was the President a *political* success insofar as most Americans at the time applauded his performance? Second, did the President address the pressing issues and challenges faced by the nation in his day and win approval for his solutions? And third, did those solutions, in retrospect, promote the security, prosperity, and liberty of the American people? The last, of course, is a matter of interpretation, but the first two criteria tend to balance any bias introduced in the third.

The principle behind these criteria is historicity. Our schools and media ought to encourage students and citizens not to judge historical actors (e.g., the slave-owning Jefferson) according to present-day ideology, conventional wisdom, or cant; to do so is ahistorical, unfair, and arrogant. They ought instead to help people imagine the times, places, and circumstances in which historical figures found themselves, and so identify the constraints upon them and the limited choices they faced before rendering a verdict on their leadership. What cannot be properly discounted, however, is the "normalcy" factor: Clinton's nemesis. The President who had the misfortune to govern in times of repose had no chance to prove his mettle. Perhaps he could have been great—we may even suspect that he *would* have been great—but we can hardly credit him for surmounting crises that never occurred (unless we have reason to think that he *prevented* a crisis). Thus, while everyday people pray, "Put me not to the test"—a truer rendering of "Lead me not into temptation"—the President obsessed with his "place in history" whispers, "Bring on the dragons that I might slay them."

Now, at the risk of raising the dead and the hackles of readers, here is one historian's ballot:

George Washington—Great. Truly the "indispensable man" and "modern Cincinnatus," he defined the office of the Presidency in terms of its limits as well as its powers, and is more responsible than anyone else for translating the theoretical wisdom embodied in the Constitution into pragmatic, enduring reality. His Farewell Address is still the greatest state paper in American history.

John Adams—Below Average. As a patriot, diplomat, and

Mr. McDougall, a professor of history at the University of Pennsylvania and author of Promised Land, Crusader State: The American Encounter with the World since 1776, *won a Pulitzer Prize in 1986.*

ILLUSTRATION BY ROMAN GENN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

political philosopher he deserves his place among the greatest of the Founding Fathers. As a one-term President following Washington, however, he pales. His quasi-war with France and the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798 were his most famous—and dubious—accomplishments.

Thomas Jefferson—Great. A radical ideologue with too loose a tongue in the 1790s, he performed as President with statesmanlike skill and bipartisanship, and kept his eyes fixed on national, not factional, interests. The 1803 Louisiana Purchase was a coup, and the Lewis and Clark Expedition a triumph of vision. He practiced libertarianism at home and "no entangling alliances" abroad, and placed his stamp on the emerging Democratic Party.

James Madison—Failure. He and Hamilton were the brightest stars in a galaxy of brilliant political philosophers. But compared to Jefferson he appeared weak and indecisive. He almost ruined New England with his anodyne Non-Intercourse Act (economic sanctions against the European belligerents in the Napoleonic wars), was duped by Napoleon into resuming trade with the French Empire, and bungled into the silly War of 1812.

James Monroe—Near Great. Granted, he was a passive "consensus" leader who ran unopposed (Era of Good Feeling) and presided over a quiet octennium; and the Panic of 1819 marred his record. But he had an exceptional Cabinet and the good sense to defer to it (a quality underappreciated by historians who admire "strong" Presidents). The Missouri Compromise of 1819 kept the nation together for a generation, and the Monroe Doctrine of 1823 was second only to Washington's Farewell as a blueprint for wise foreign policy.

John Quincy Adams—Below Average. The greatest Secretary of State in American history, he was a bust as President all the way from his selection by a fractured House of Representatives after he lost the popular vote to his landslide defeat in 1828 at the hands of Andy Jackson. He accomplished little and left office embittered.

Martin Van Buren was a one-term flop whose only legacy was the slang term 'O.K.'

Andrew Jackson—Near Great. A freebooting soldier contemptuous of authority who flooded Washington with hicks from the sticks (a practice emulated by more recent Southern Presidents), he nonetheless proved to be a charismatic defender of Jeffersonian principles. He founded the modern national party system, abolished the U.S. Bank, stared down the South Carolinian hotheads in the Nullification Crisis, bit the bullet on Indian Removal (which he truly believed was the lesser of evils) in 1830, and paid off the national debt.

Martin Van Buren—Below Average. A party hack who had helped to build Jackson's national party, he was a one-term flop whose only legacy was the slang term "O.K."

William Henry Harrison—Failure. "Harrison came in upon a hurricane," wrote John Quincy Adams in 1841; "God

Are you like most people... nervous about the stock market?
What would a decline in the stock market do to your stocks, mutual funds and retirement accounts?
Did you know that if your funds are in the stock market, your principle is at risk?

MIB Financial
1-800-575-1566
A full service, asset growth and protection company

We have something *with* STOCK MARKET RETURNS— *without* STOCK MARKET RISKS.

Yes, STOCK MARKET RETURNS without STOCK MARKET RISKS.

What would you say to:

12% Fixed Returns on a 12-month program.
21% Fixed Returns on an 18-month program.
With No Market Risk!

Your Principal is...
- Fully Secured *and*
- I.R.A. & S.E.P. Qualified

Maturity dates may vary.
Total contractual return cannot be considered an A.P.R.

Call **1-800-575-1566** to find out what your stock broker doesn't want you to know.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

grant he may not go out upon a wreck." He did: Tippecanoe died after a month in office.

John Tyler—Failure. The first "accidental President," he moved into the White House after Harrison's death and was promptly stymied by congressional gridlock (not that he would have done much anyway). He stood up for Hawaiian independence when it was threatened by Britain and as a lame duck rammed through the annexation of Texas by a joint resolution in 1845. But the latter was an inflammatory act of dubious constitutionality, and sowed the seeds of war with Mexico.

James K. Polk—Near Great. He was the greatest conqueror in U.S. history save Washington himself, and assertions to the effect that he was a creature of slaveholders or of Manifest Destiny zealots are canards. The Manifest Destinarians were either airy pacifists in the mode of John O'Sullivan (the New York editor, born on a British battleship in the 1812 war, who coined the term "Manifest Destiny," but even so no relation to *NR*'s editor), or "54°40' or Fight" zealots hot to seize all Oregon from the British, or ideological crusaders eager to annex "All Mexico" and export the fruits of Anglo/Protestant civilization. Polk spurned all three schools, and made peace (with Britain, in 1844) and war (with Mexico, in 1846) for limited ends with realistic means. He also kept his promise to step down after one term.

Zachary Taylor—Failure. A military hero, he came to office with no agenda. His one stance—opposition to the Compromise of 1850 lest it permit the westward spread of slavery—was a loser, and he died after 18 months in office.

Millard Fillmore—Below Average. Not the complete cipher many think, he executed the Compromise of 1850, dispatched Commodore Perry to Japan, and lived as a bachelor without scandal. But he was another accidental President, whom his party never even considered nominating in 1852.

Franklin Pierce—Below Average. He cannot be called a failure, because he did not try to do anything. The economy boomed in the 1850s, but that was due in large part to the influx of gold from California.

James Buchanan—Failure. The only Pennsylvania President, he did try to do something—preserve the Union—and totally flopped. He presided over the crackup of the national Democratic Party, then spent his lame-duck period of 1860–61 fiddling while Rome burned.

Abraham Lincoln—Great. Leaving aside his war leadership (which was brilliant in terms of morale, though marred by numerous false starts and errors) and generous plan for Reconstruction, he pushed through the Transcontinental Railway, Homestead Act, and Land Grant College system, thus laying the geographical and institutional foundations for a continental superstate. But he was able to do so much in domestic policy because the Southern contingent had walked out of the Capitol; hence there is probably no point in wondering what sort of peacetime President he would have made. In foreign policy, he and his canny Secretary of State William H. Seward kept the Europeans out of the American conflict and expanded U.S. trade with Asia. No other President had to overcome such extreme peril, and it is hard to imagine how he could have done so without those arrogations of power to the Federal Government for which some conservatives now fault him.

"Would I be knocking myself out if my point wasn't valid?"

Andrew Johnson—Failure. He was almost impeached and convicted, but through little fault of his own. Thanks to Seward, he acquired Alaska in 1867.

Ulysses S. Grant—Failure. He was duly honored before entering the White House and revered by Americans (e.g., Mark Twain) and foreigners after he left it. However, his Administration itself was marked by few positives, and the negatives (scandals, depression after 1873, and disastrous Indian wars) were legion. Like all ex-generals except Washington and Eisenhower, he was miscast as President.

Rutherford B. Hayes—Below Average. A product of smoke-filled rooms following the crooked, dead-heat election of 1876, he had virtually no mandate to do anything and not much evident desire to try.

James A. Garfield—Failure. A decent man, but he was murdered within months.

Chester A. Arthur—Below Average. He signed the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 and civil-service "reform"—both of which seemed to be good ideas at the time. Politicians of 1997, take note: the only things worse than unchecked immigration and venal bureaucrats are the attempts made to get rid of them.

Grover Cleveland—Near Great. Perhaps the best candidate for greatness who never got the chance to prove it, he was the only President save FDR to win the popular vote in three successive elections (only to lose the Electoral College in his second race, in 1888). His record is sullied by the Panic of 1893, but he championed free trade, broke the Pullman strike to keep the U.S. mail moving, and quashed a sordid bid to annex Hawaii in 1893 even as he hung tough against European imperialists in Venezuela. A man of true principle.

Benjamin Harrison—Below Average. A worthy Hoosier, he nonetheless won the White House as a legacy and minority vote-getter. He pushed tariffs unreasonably high, and his tight-money policies provoked the Populist revolt. He did, however, support overdue expansion and modernization of the Navy.

William McKinley—Below Average. A very tough call, since he was an honorable man whose term came to be identified with the Spanish–American War and acquisition of colonies in 1898, neither of which he especially wanted. Most damning is his decision to annex the Philippines, which landed the Army in a bloody colonial war and launched the United States on its twentieth-century career as a self-righteous crusader. Suffice it to say that Woodrow Wilson *approved* of all that he did and could not wait to get his hands on the enhanced powers of the Presidency.

Theodore Roosevelt—Great. The only accidental President to achieve even Above Average, much less Great, status, he was a leader in every sense and in every arena. His formula of big government to stand

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

as umpire between big business and big labor may be deemed wrongheaded, but his policies of peace through strength (the "big stick") abroad and trust-busting and conservation at home, not to mention the Panama Canal and the mediation of the Russo–Japanese War in 1905, more than justify his place on Mt. Rushmore.

William Howard Taft—Below Average. A fine Chief Justice of the United States, he was almost a failure as President in large part because "TAFT" did not stand for "Take Advice From Theodore." He reversed many of Roosevelt's foreign and domestic policies and paid for it with a humiliating third-place finish in 1912.

Woodrow Wilson—Failure (by his own admission). The most controversial call of all, since many would rate him as Great. He achieved a full domestic agenda, including the income tax, the Federal Reserve, the Sherman Antitrust Act, the Federal Trade Commission, and the virtual nationalization of industry during the war, all of which greatly expanded federal power. Abroad, he failed to "teach the Mexicans to elect good men" despite two invasions, failed to create a Pan-American league, failed to defend the United States' rights at sea as a neutral during the Great War, failed to "keep us out of war," failed to win a peace based on his Fourteen Points, then failed to win ratification of his Versailles Treaty and League of Nations—all thanks to his priggish, stubborn thirst for power.

Warren G. Harding—Below Average. A humble man without ambition, he should be remembered less for the scandals during his Administration (which were minor by today's standards) than for his exceptional Cabinet featuring Charles Evans Hughes, Herbert Hoover, Andrew Mellon, and James Davis. Had he not died in 1923, he might have been re-elected and gone down in history as a twentieth-century equivalent of James Monroe.

Calvin Coolidge—Average. In this one case let us employ the rank of Average and so let Silent Cal serve as the benchmark for the others. He presided over the 1920s' peace and prosperity as a shining example of the fact that when things are going well the wise leader says little and does less.

Herbert Hoover—Failure. The Republican equivalent of Wilson, he was a man of soaring high-mindedness and energy who achieved many lesser goals only to fail grandly in the one he cared about most: in his case, the engineering of prosperity for most people and opportunity for all. A great humanitarian, he saw his Presidency shipwrecked by the Crash of 1929 at home and collapse of the postwar orders in Europe and Asia.

Franklin D. Roosevelt—Great. Whatever one thinks of the man's character, policies, or legacy, how can he not be termed Great? He served four terms spanning crises more acute than any others in U.S. history excepting the Civil War, and left a more indelible mark than any other President in this century. To be sure, his New Deal was slapdash, mostly ineffectual, and at times unconstitutional, and his frivolous foreign policy lurched from deep isolationism in the mid 1930s to disingenuous interventionism from 1937 to 1941, to harebrained Wilsonianism and appeasement of Stalin during World War II. But to borrow Tip O'Neill's line about Reagan, "Da people loved him," and he led them through the most trying of times. FDR, scoundrel and titan: the Pisastratus of American politics.

Harry S. Truman—Below Average. Second only to McKinley as a tough one to rate, he gave us much to admire—hence his resilient reputation. But the fact remains that under his care the United States knew neither peace nor prosperity, and the American people rejected him utterly in

THE KENNEDY TAPES

INSIDE THE WHITE HOUSE DURING THE CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS

Edited by Ernest R. May & Philip D. Zelikow

OCTOBER 1962: the United States and the Soviet Union stood face to face, each brandishing enough nuclear weapons to obliterate civilization in the Northern Hemisphere. For two weeks the inner circle of President Kennedy's National Security Council debated what to do, twice coming to the brink of attacking Soviet military units in Cuba. Through it all, unbeknownst to any of the participants except the President himself, audio tape was rolling, capturing for posterity the deliberations that might have ended the world as we know it. These are the full and authenticated transcripts of those riveting recordings.

"Mesmerizing...The book is the best, fullest account of crisis yet and will remain so for decades to come."
—Stephen E. Ambrose

"A historical triumph!...This remarkable book is an unprecedented illumination of the anguish of policy-making—and powerful proof of the cool and careful leadership of John F. Kennedy."
—Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.

Belknap Press • 20 halftones • 800 pages • $35.00 cloth • Photos: Courtesy John F. Kennedy Library

HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS
800 448 2242 • www.hup.harvard.edu

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the end. As for the heroics attending the birth of Containment, credit the President for his grit, but honor Acheson, Marshall, Kennan, Nitze, Dulles, Vandenberg, and the rest for providing the initiative, brains, and bipartisan support.

Dwight D. Eisenhower—Great. Peace and prosperity for eight years, dangerous Cold War crises averted or managed, a federal budget cut and balanced, the military downsized without risking national security, and not least the Interstate Highway System: more than enough for greatness. He made mistakes (Suez, Earl Warren, the U-2 fiasco), but admitted them as such and took responsibility. He had a temper, but he was shrewd and governed without scandal. Colin Powell's greatest asset is that people hope he's another Ike.

Ronald Reagan gave America eight years of peace and prosperity, broke the back of inflation, and tossed the Soviet empire onto the ash heap of history.

John F. Kennedy—Below Average. He was mostly show, not substance, and what substance there was either failed (civil-rights bill) or did harm ("Pay any price, bear any burden . . ."). His tax cut worked, but his foreign policy was awful from the Bay of Pigs and Vienna summit of 1961 to the Cuban Missile Crisis (*viz.* his pledge never to try to oust Castro), "neutralization" of Laos, overthrow of the Diem regime in Saigon, and escalation in Vietnam.

Lyndon B. Johnson—Failure. Even worse than JFK, he did more damage to the American Republic than any other President of his era, perhaps any era. The Great Society was wasteful and counterproductive; his conduct of the Vietnam War amounted, in Paul Johnson's phrase, to a veritable "suicide attempt"; and his guns-and-butter approach on the home front was gutless. Hubris is too gentle a word to apply to a man who nearly tore the country apart.

Richard M. Nixon—Near Great/Failure. So schizoid a record that only a split ranking will do. He was the mirror image of Wilson in that he succeeded grandly in most foreign-policy ventures (détente, opening to China, the Yom Kippur War) but failed at home and, like Wilson, destroyed himself in the end. A big environmentalist who founded the Environmental Protection Agency and National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (for which some liberals now credit him), he also vastly expanded Johnson's entitlement programs, abolished the draft, gave 18-year-olds the vote, and presided over *Roe* v. *Wade*. He showed the Republican Party the future with his Southern strategy, but also crippled it for a decade with his domestic liberalism, failure to campaign for local Republicans, and Watergate. His greatest virtue, perhaps, was his eagerness to run for President at all in the horrible year of 1968 and assume a thankless and dangerous task.

Gerald R. Ford—Below Average. He resembles Harding in that the nation yearned for a bland, mediocre leader to restore it to normalcy. And, like Harding, he had a magnificent Cabinet, including Henry Kissinger, James Schlesinger, and Edward Levy. But he was stymied in foreign and economic policy alike by the post-Vietnam hangover in Congress.

Jimmy Carter—Failure. He brokered the Camp David Accord (for which American taxpayers still ante up), but otherwise his Administration is rightly associated with the loss of Iran, the hostage crisis and the "Desert One" debacle, and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, not to mention recession, inflation, "malaise" (his own word), disco, rampant promiscuity on Main Street, and drugs in his own teetotaling White House. He should have been a preacher.

Ronald Reagan—Great. He made some mistakes (Iran–Contra and the deregulation of Savings & Loans without repeal of federal deposit insurance), ran up big deficits, and had the good fortune to follow five consecutive botched Administrations. But he gave America eight years of peace and prosperity, restored the nation's optimism with a skill at least equal to FDR's, honored wholesome values to a degree unknown since Ike, broke up OPEC and thus broke the back of inflation, and, together with Thatcher, Walesa, John Paul II, Solzhenitsyn, and Gorbachev, tossed the Soviet empire on the ash heap of history. The leadership void he left behind is eloquent testimony to his stature. Put Ron on the Rock!

George Bush—Below Average. A bureaucrat/party man/company man, he would have made an ideal politician . . . in Japan. He showed true finesse in stitching together the Gulf War coalition, but strategically (vis-à-vis defeated Iraq, the collapsing USSR, the "New World Order") and domestically ("Read My Lips," the 1992 campaign), he was genuinely vision-impaired.

Bill Clinton—Below Average (pending). It is too soon to tell, of course: he may be impeached or rise to some crisis. But as of now it is hard to name anything of his own that he has achieved (NAFTA was Bush's initiative). He made a hash of policy toward Asia and Europe, and learned all the wrong lessons of Vietnam with regard to the Third World. He even retreated from his entire original domestic agenda and seems determined to destroy the morale and preparedness of the U.S. armed forces. Still, he may match Reagan's record of unbroken peace and prosperity, and will thus look good to posterity by comparison to George Bush and Al Gore.

SPEAKING of Gore, one pattern that clearly emerges from this exercise is that Presidents who follow a successful two-termer of the same political party invariably flop. John Adams, John Quincy Adams, Van Buren, Andrew Johnson, Taft, Hoover, and Bush were all one-term flops, and Madison and Truman, although they won second terms, were less than distinguished. Would Nixon have done a one-term fadeout had he succeeded Ike after 1960? Will Gore do likewise if elected in 2000? History says yes, and one wonders why. Is this due to some cyclical swing in the mood of the electorate, or is it that popular Presidents are just hard acts to follow? Or do successful Presidents tend to mortgage the future to obtain short-term results (and win re-election), obliging their successors to inherit the wind? If so, then will Gore be stuck with the task of realizing the balanced budget by 2002 and facing the foreign crises that are bound to erupt with a hollowed-out, feminized military? He may well step into Bill Clinton's shoes only to wish soon enough that he hadn't. All the more reason for American voters to choose the Republican—any Republican—next time around. At least he (or she) will have a chance to be Great. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TAKE ANY 3 FOR $1 EACH

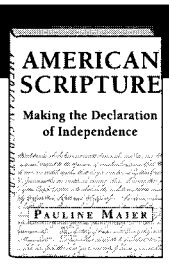
Plus a 4th at $4.99

NO RISK, NO COMMITMENT

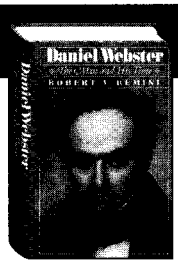
THE AMERICAN IDEA

Lincoln
by David Herbert Donald **98-2711.** Pub. price **$35**
The Oxford Companion to the Supreme Court of the United States
edited by Kermit L. Hall **48-0957.** Pub. price **$45**
John Quincy Adams: A Public Life, a Private Life
by Paul C. Nagel **27-0882.** Pub. price **$30**
1,001 Things Everyone Should Know About American History
by John A. Garraty **38-0016.** Pub. price **$19.95**

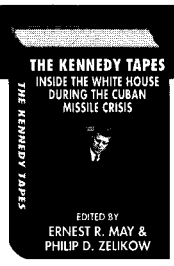
82-3944. Pub. price **$35**



56-6583. Pub. price **$27.50**



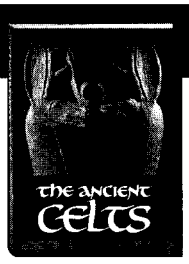
28-3941. Pub. price **$39.95**



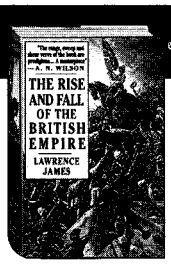
78-5376. Pub. price **$35**

EUROPEAN LEGACY

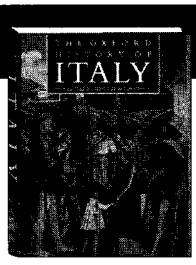
How the Irish Saved Civilization: The Untold Story of Ireland's Heroic Role from the Fall of Rome to the Rise of Medieval Europe
by Thomas Cahill **68-2348.** Pub. price **$22.50**
Hitler's U-Boat War: The Hunters, 1939–1942
by Clay Blair **28-3122.** Pub. price **$40**
Wellington
by Christopher Hibbert **88-4629.** Pub. price **$30**
Robert the Bruce: King of Scots
by Ronald McNair Scott **88-0053** Pub. price **$24**



56-7601. Pub. price **$45**



28-2883. Pub. price **$35**

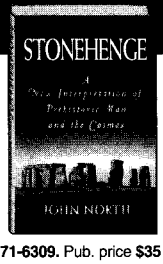


58-4514. Pub. price **$35**

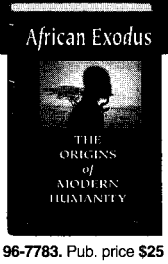
16-7856. Pub. price **$40**

ORIGINS OF CIVILIZATION

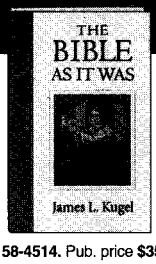
A History of Christianity
by Owen Chadwick **18-2920.** Pub. price **$35**
Ancient Greece: From Prehistoric to Hellenistic Times
by Thomas R. Martin **18-3146.** Pub. price **$35**
The Oxford Companion to the Bible
edited by Bruce. M. Metzger and Michael D. Coogan **18-1604.** Pub. price **$45**
Caesar: A Biography
by Christian Meier **18-2858.** Pub. price **$30**



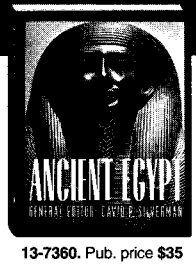
71-6309. Pub. price **$35**



96-7783. Pub. price **$25**



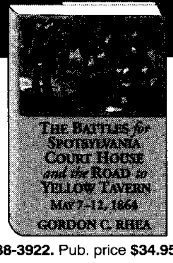
58-4514. Pub. price **$35**



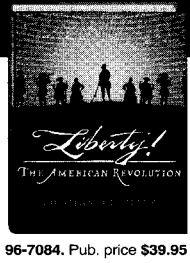
13-7360. Pub. price **$35**

THE MAKING OF AMERICA

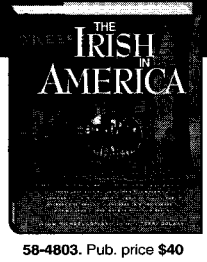
Big Trouble
by J. Anthony Lukas **58-3568.** Pub. price **$32.50**
Shiloh: The Battle that Changed the Civil War
by Larry J. Daniel **73-4388.** Pub. price **$26**
Red Cloud
by Robert W. Larson **48-3959.** Pub. price **$24.95**
Days of Defiance: Sumter, Secession, and the Coming of the Civil War
by Maury Klein **86-7403.** Pub. price **$30**



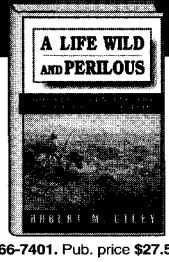
88-3922. Pub. price **$34.95**



96-7084. Pub. price **$39.95**



58-4803. Pub. price **$40**



66-7401. Pub. price **$27.50**

All the best history. All in one place.

No matter what area of history you enjoy reading about most, you'll find that History Book Club offers some of the finest selections being published today. And no book club we know offers greater savings—as much as 25% off publishers' list prices. You can save even more by taking advantage of our Introductory Offer. Select any three books on this page for $1 each when you take a fourth book at $4.99, plus shipping and handling. Thereafter, you're not obligated to order any more books. You may cancel your membership at any time by notifying History Book Club. We may cancel your membership if you elect not to buy at least one book in any six-month period.

How the Club works. You'll be able to choose from 150 to 200 books featured each month. History Book Club always offers its members well-made, long-lasting editions.

You'll receive our *Review* and a dated Reply Form about every 3 weeks (up to 18 times a year). If you want the "Editors' Choice," do nothing—the book will come automatically. If you want another book, or no books at all, return the Reply Form by the date specified. A shipping and handling charge is added to each shipment.

Your HBC guarantee: If you receive an unwanted "Editors' Choice" because you had less than 10 days to decide, simply return it and pay nothing.

Guarantee of Satisfaction: You may examine your introductory books for 10 days, free. If you are not satisfied, for any reason whatsoever, simply return the books and you will be under no further obligation.

HISTORY Book Club®, Camp Hill, PA 17012-0001

Please enroll me in History Book Club according to the no-risk, no-commitment terms outlined in the accompanying ad. Send me the 4 books whose numbers I have listed below. Bill me $1 each for 3 choices, and the 4th at $4.99, plus shipping and handling.

3 choices at $1 each: H123-10-4 7-14

– – –

4th choice at $4.99: –

Name
(Please print clearly)

Address Apt. #

City State Zip

#053

To help us serve you, please tell us what you like to read.	STRONGLY DISLIKE	SOMEWHAT DISLIKE	NO OPINION	SOMEWHAT LIKE	STRONGLY LIKE
A. Civil War	1	2	3	4	5
B. Ancient History	1	2	3	4	5
C. Military History	1	2	3	4	5
D. American History	1	2	3	4	5
E. British History	1	2	3	4	5
F. Russia, Asia, the Middle East	1	2	3	4	5
G. European History	1	2	3	4	5
H. Current Affairs	1	2	3	4	5
I. Social/Intellectual History	1	2	3	4	5

© 1997 History Book Club, Inc. All orders subject to approval. Prices and offer may differ in Canada.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE NATIONAL QUESTION

Post-West Syndrome

When patriotism is threatened, so are the roots of democracy.

JOHN FONTE

WRITING in *The National Interest* more than two years ago, Professor James Kurth stated: "The real clash of civilizations will not be between the West and one or more of the Rest. It will be between the West and the Post-West, within the West itself. This clash has already taken place within the brain of Western civilization, the American intellectual class."

An examination of what many in our intellectual class have been saying for the past several years corroborates this assertion. There is a Post-West, and it advocates transcending and redefining traditional Western ideas of patriotism and the nation-state. But historical evidence suggests that patriotism and the nation-state are necessary conditions for the survival of modern constitutional democracy. If we accept the Post-Western vision, traditional liberal democracy will ultimately be transformed into a post-liberal-democratic regime.

Let us be very clear. Civic patriotism or liberal-democratic nationalism is not based on "blood and soil," or race and ethnicity, or superiority and dominance over others. It is a love of country based on political allegiance, shared values, and a shared history and culture (which can be adopted by immigrants through an identification with the nation's past and assimilation of its traditions). It is essential for active citizenship in a self-governing polity. It is not inconsistent with an internationalist foreign policy, liberalized global trade, or broad participation in world affairs. An America, Britain, or France shorn of such patriotism would be a different country, but not necessarily a better, or more democratic, one.

Some disagree with this view and reject the linkage of patriotism and the nation-state with liberal democracy. Thus, in 1995, in a widely discussed article in *Boston Review*, University of Chicago philosophy professor Martha Nussbaum explicitly attacked the concept of patriotism and declared that "patriotism is very close to jingoism." Commenting on Prof. Nussbaum's article, Princeton's Amy Gutmann declared that it is "repugnant" that American students should "learn that they are above all citizens of the United States." Their "primary allegiance should not be to the United States or any actual community," but to what she calls "democratic humanism."

Writing in *Foreign Affairs* in 1994, Harvard's Charles Maier was impatient with the traditional American concept of citizenship. He declared: "it is time for confederation, cantonization, and overlapping citizenship." And in a little-noticed article five years ago, Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbott, then a senior editor at *Time*, wrote: "All countries are basically social arrangements, accommodations to changing circumstances. No matter how permanent and even sacred they may seem at any one time, in fact they are all artificial and temporary." Talbott predicted that by the end of the twenty-first century "nationhood as we know it will be obsolete: all states will recognize a single global authority." Moreover, he described the weakening of sovereignty as a "basically positive phenomenon."

This critique of patriotism, nationalism, and the nation-state is advanced in the name of universal ideals such as humanitarianism, egalitarianism, and democracy. Thus, Martha Nussbaum contends that our "primary allegiance" should be to the "community of human beings in the entire world" and to the "moral ideals of justice and equality."

This may sound benign to many, but what specifically are those moral ideals? Well, Prof. Nussbaum writes that it is our moral obligation to recognize that the "high living standard we [in the West] enjoy is one that very likely cannot be universalized, . . . given the present costs of pollution controls and the present economic situation of developing countries, without ecological disaster."

What is required, according to Prof. Nussbaum, is global planning and presumably the redistribution of wealth from the "north" to the "south." Moreover, transnational regulation is necessary to solve crucial global issues such as environmental degradation, overpopulation, gender inequities, poverty, and the like. Hence, just below the surface of

Mr. Fonte is an adjunct scholar at the American Enterprise Institute.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the claims of universality we find the specific political agenda of an influential group of progressive activists. Instead of philosophy we find ideology; instead of cosmopolitanism we find the parochialism of the Western progressive elite. Furthermore, besides the promotion of a progressive political agenda under the guise of universalism, we see a demand for power, because—as John O'Sullivan put it in these pages recently—all this planning and regulation will require the guiding hand of an international "New Class."

THESE ideas have important political consequences. Thus, Jessica Mathews of the Council on Foreign Relations looks forward to the day when there will be a "Global Environmental Authority with independent regulatory powers." She is pleased to report that on major global issues "soft law in the form of guidelines, recommended practices, nonbinding resolutions . . . [is] rapidly expanding" and that "behind each new agreement are scientists and lawyers"—a "new constituency" including "a burgeoning influential class of international civil servants responsible for implementing, monitoring, and enforcing this enormous new body of law." She notes approvingly that the European Union's judiciary can override national law and its Council of Ministers can overrule certain domestic executive decisions.

To Amy Gutmann, it is 'repugnant' that American students should 'learn that they are above all citizens of the United States.'

To her credit, Mrs. Mathews does admit that "more international decision-making will also exacerbate the so-called 'democracy deficit,' as decisions that elected representatives once made shift to unelected international bodies." Indeed, this is the heart of the matter. The Achilles' heel of the progressive project is that the effort to diminish patriotism, nationalism, and the nation-state appears to have the result of diminishing liberal democracy as well. But although sup-

Learn Another Language on Your Own!

Learn to speak a foreign language fluently on your own and at your own pace with what are considered the finest in-depth courses available. Many were developed by U.S. Department of State for diplomatic personnel who must learn a language quickly and thoroughly. Emphasis is on learning to speak and to understand the spoken language. A typical course (equivalent to a college semester) includes an album of 10 to 12 audio cassettes (10 to 18 hours), recorded by native-born speakers, plus a 250-page textbook. Some of our courses:

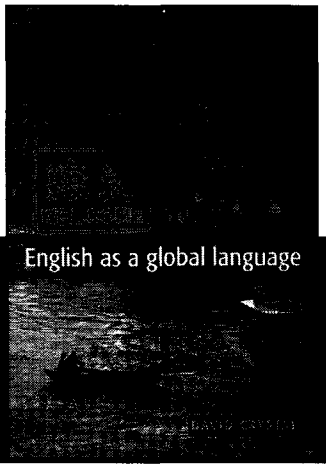
☐ Arabic, Saudi	$185	☐ Greek	$185	☐ Norwegian	$125	☐ Spanish,	
☐ Egyptian	$185	☐ Haitian		☐ Persian	$185	European	$125
☐ Bulgarian	$245	Creole	$225	☐ Polish	$185	☐ Latin American I	$185
☐ Cantonese	$185	☐ Hebrew	$255	Portuguese,		☐ Latin American II	$165
☐ Catalan	$185	☐ Hungarian	$195	☐ Brazilian	$215	☐ Swahili	$225
☐ Czech	$125	☐ Italian	$185	☐ European	$125	☐ Swedish	$185
☐ Danish	$135	☐ Japanese	$185	☐ Romanian	$115	☐ Tagalog	$295
☐ Dutch	$125	☐ Korean	$195	☐ Russian	$255	☐ Thai	$195
☐ Estonian	$295	☐ Lakota	$185	☐ Sanskrit	$215	☐ Turkish	$195
☐ French I	$185	☐ Latin	$160	☐ Serbo-		☐ Ukrainian	$195
☐ French II	$215	☐ Latvian	$185	Croatian	$195	☐ Urdu	$185
☐ German I	$185	☐ Lithuanian	$135	☐ Shona	$185	☐ Vietnamese	
☐ German II	$155	☐ Mandarin	$185	☐ Slovak	$185	(South)	$225

You can order now with a full **3-week money-back guarantee.** Credit card orders by phone **1-800-243-1234**, (203) 453-9794, fax (203) 453-9774, e-mail: R4024@audioforum.com, or mail check or money order. Ask for our free 52-page *Whole World Language Catalog* with courses in 96 languages. Our 25th year.

AUDIO-FORUM®
THE LANGUAGE SOURCE
Room 4024, 96 Broad Street, Guilford, CT 06437

English as a Global Language
David Crystal

In this timely and informative account of the phenomenon of English as a global language, David Crystal steers even-handedly through the minefield of political debate while approaching some of today's most divisive questions:



- **What makes a world language?**
- **Why is English the leading candidate?**
- **Why will it continue to hold this position?**

This lively book will appeal to anyone with an interest in language issues, whatever their political views on the subject.

59247-X **Hardback** **$19.95**

Available in bookstores or from
CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
40 West 20th Street, N.Y., NY 10011-4211
Call toll-free 800-872-7423.
Web site: http://www.cup.org
MasterCard/VISA accepted.
Prices subject to change.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

porters of the transnational progressive project are aware of the "democracy problem," they have no answer.

Liberal democracy and liberal democratic nationalism are phenomena of the modern age, whereas the alternative progressive vision smacks of the pre-modern and post-modern. Instead of individual rights and national citizenship there is an emphasis on group rights and multiculturalism; instead of majority rule there is proportional representation for ascribed groups; instead of patriotic affection for one's own nation, multiple loyalties to subnational and supranational groups are emphasized.

To Ambassador Hunt, 'Although Communist parliaments were little more than rubber stamps, women were at least visible.'

The United Nations women's conference in Peking is instructive. At that conference, the Western nations promoted the idea that women's representation in national legislatures should be roughly proportional to their presence in the population. Thus, for example, if women make up 52 per cent of the population of Great Britain, then 52 per cent of all members of Parliament should be women. If the British electorate in a free election fails to choose members of Parliament on this proportional basis, there is apparently a problem of "underrepresentation." "Democracy" is thus redefined from a system that permits free choice of a people's representatives to a system that requires group representation.

This concept, as I have suggested, is both pre-modern and post-modern. It would base electoral results not on the choice of the individual voter, but on preordained proportional representation for ascribed groups, like the "estates" of the *Ancien Régime*. That this idea was promoted by Western governments at Peking (including the Clinton, Major, and Kohl Administrations) tells us something about the coherence of liberal-democratic ideas in the contemporary West. And the appearance of the radical former congresswoman Bella Abzug speaking on behalf of Western non-governmental organizations (NGOs) tells us something about the state of Western civil society in the mid 1990s.

Significantly, the Clinton Administration is vigorously promoting this illiberal, neo-corporatist view of democracy promulgated at Peking. Thus, the Administration's ambassador to Austria, Swanee Hunt, in a recent *Foreign Affairs* article, decries the decrease in "gender parity" in Eastern European parliaments since the fall of Communism and the advent of free elections. Ambassador Hunt complains: "Across the political upheaval, from 1987 to 1994 the percentage of women in parliament decreased from 28 per cent to 6 per cent in Albania, from 34 per cent to 4 per cent in Rumania, and from 21 per cent to 11 per cent in Hungary. Parliament was 33 per cent female in the Soviet Union, but in many of the newly independent states the figure is now under 3 per cent." Hunt notes that "Although Communist parliaments were little more than rubber stamps, women were at least visible, ensured by state-imposed quotas."

According to Ambassador Hunt, reversing this "underrepresentation" (caused, it should be noted, by free elections) is a major goal of U.S. foreign policy under Clinton because it reflects "basic American values" and is consistent with "stable democracy." In other words, Clinton's appointees judge the health of democracy not in liberal-democratic terms—for example, by the strength and vibrancy of freely chosen parliaments—but, instead, in neocorporatist terms—by the percentage of ascribed group representation in those parliaments.

Moreover, the Clinton Administration is supporting the shift from traditional liberal democracy to neocorporatism in practice as well as in theory. In 1991 Argentina passed the world's first gender Quota Law (*Ley de Cupos*) for electing national legislators. It requires all political parties to: 1) run a minimum of 30 per cent women candidates in all districts and 2) place these women in electable positions. If a party fails to comply with the Quota Law it is not allowed to compete in the election. In July 1997 at a conference in Washington, D.C., Assistant Secretary of State Alexander Watson praised Argentina's Quota Law as an example of the "political affirmative action" that the Clinton Administration favors.

OF COURSE, there are recognized scholars who are willing to maintain that, so far from being impediments to democracy, liberal nationalism and civic patriotism are virtually intrinsic to it. Georgian political philosopher Ghia Nodia declares that "denouncing all nationalism as would-be fascism makes no more sense than denouncing all religion for ultimately leading to fanaticism." Moreover, Prof. Nodia insists that "democracy never exists without nationalism" in some form. And Francis Fukuyama states that "many proponents of liberal democracy do not understand the ways in which moderate nationalism can contribute to the success of democracy as a matter of practical politics."

To test Nodia's and Fukuyama's insights, we might reflect on the careers of a number of democratic politicians who have regularly been described by historians as nationalists or patriots—in France, Georges Clemenceau and Charles de Gaulle; in Britain, Winston Churchill and Margaret Thatcher; in the United States, George Washington, Alexander Hamilton, John Quincy Adams, Andrew Jackson, Abraham Lincoln, Teddy Roosevelt, and Ronald Reagan. It would be difficult to make a case that the nationalist or patriotic policies of these leaders weakened liberal democracy.

Some make a distinction between nationalism (negative) and patriotism (positive). Benjamin Barber, on the Left, and John Lukacs, on the Right, prefer the term "civic patriotism." In theory, this distinction has some merit. However, the problem with making the distinction is that the two terms are often used inter-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

changeably by both supporters and opponents of patriotism. For example, in secondary education most teachers and curriculum specialists make no distinction between patriotism and nationalism. In the academy, Prof. Nussbaum attacked patriotism, not nationalism. Likewise, among journalists, when Ronald Reagan was first elected, Norman Podhoretz at *Commentary* lauded the new spirit of nationalism that had resulted in his victory.

A more politically minded group of progressives has questioned the practical utility of attacks on patriotism by Prof. Nussbaum and others. This group, which includes philosopher Richard Rorty, historian Sheldon Hackney, political theorist Charles Taylor, critic Paul Berman, and sociologist Todd Gitlin, recommends that progressives interpret and use the symbols of patriotism for their own ideological aims. In fact, Prof. Nussbaum's original essay was prompted by Prof. Rorty's suggestion that progressives embrace patriotism because, as this philosopher of pragmatism bluntly put it, "an unpatriotic Left has never achieved anything."

After Prof. Nussbaum's article appeared, a number of progressive intellectuals backed Prof. Rorty's stance. Thus, Canadian political theorist Charles Taylor declared that "we cannot do without patriotism" if people are to be mobilized to support "policies with a redistributive effect." Others redefine American ideals as the ideological fulfillment of the utopian Left. For Paul Berman, American patriotism means the "cosmopolitanism" of the "classic Left," the "old universalist dream of worldwide egalitarian and democratic solidarity."

Although not directly involved in the reply to Prof. Nussbaum, Todd Gitlin, in a separate book, agreed with Prof. Berman and emphasized the convergence of American values and the universal, "historic ideals of the Left." For Prof. Gitlin, the American and French Revolutions are essentially the same; thus he makes no important ideological distinctions between the sober vision of America's Founders in, for example, the *Federalist Papers*, and the utopian political philosophy of the French Jacobins. For Sheldon Hackney, who launched a "conversation" about the meaning of American identity as President Clinton's chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities, American ideals mean globalism and multiculturalism. First, Prof. Hackney sees "no necessary conflict between the moral obligations of national citizenship and world citizenship." Then, he frames his argument in utilitarian terms by warning that "if we can't make cultural pluralism [i.e., multiculturalism] work within a single country—especially a country like the United States"—then Prof. Nussbaum's laudable "cosmopolitan" goals will be difficult to achieve.

And so there is very little common ground between conservatives, centrists, and old-fashioned (i.e., pre-1960s) liberals who favor traditional notions of patriotism and representative democracy, and this progressive intelligentsia that occasionally employs patriotic rhetoric. In the end, Martha Nussbaum's "cosmopolitanism," Amy Gutmann's "democratic humanism," Strobe Talbott's "single global authority," Jessica Mathews's "soft law," Richard Rorty's "patriotic left," Paul Berman's "democratic soli-

THE SWEET SMELL OF SUCCESS℠

HOYO DE MONTERREY EXCALIBUR #5

Created for ex-Havana smokers, the 6 1/4" x 45 ring Excalibur, is still considered by knowledgeable smokers to be the epitome of cigar smoking pleasure. Handmade in Honduras of select Cuban-seed tobaccos, non-Cuban Excaliburs are preferred by those uncompromising leaders who strive for excellence. These outstanding cigars are sought after and relished by smokers of discriminating tastes everywhere.

MY INTRODUCTORY OFFER TO NEW CUSTOMERS

7 Hoyo de Monterrey Excaliburs #5 for $15.00; Regular Retail $27.00.

THOMPSON CIGAR CO.
P.O. Box 31274 • Tampa, FL 33633-0537 • Dept. T610
Send me 7 Natural wrapper, Hoyo de Monterrey Excaliburs #5 (N46755) For $15.00 + $3.95 shipping. (Florida residents add 6% sales tax + appropriate county tax). ONE ORDER PER CUSTOMER

My Name
My Street Address Apt. #
City State Zip
Daytime Phone # ( )
❑ $18.95 Enclosed. Charge to my ❑ VISA ❑ MasterCard ❑ AmExpress ❑ Discover
Signed
Credit Card No. (Print All Digits) Exp. Date
OFFER EXPIRES 1/31/98 • OFFER NOT AVAILABLE TO MINORS • OFFER GOOD ONLY IN THE USA

1915 THOMPSON &CO., INC.
America's Oldest Mail Order Cigar Company. Est. 1915

© 1995, Thompson & Co., Inc.

1-800-246-8221 Dept.-T610 Fax: 813-882-4605

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

darity," Todd Gitlin's "universalism," Sheldon Hackney's "cultural pluralism," and the Clinton Administration's "political affirmative action" are ideological cousins. By either transforming or redefining both patriotism and democracy, these "progressive" concepts provide justification for a major transfer of power from elected national legislatures to unelected transnational bureaucracies, from market forces to global planners, from citizens to non-citizens, and ultimately, and most importantly, from a self-governing free people to a "New Class" of regulators, planners, and bureaucrats.

And so, as James Kurth suggests, the real clash of civilizations will indeed be within the West itself, "between the West and the Post-West." This will be a continuing struggle. Who knows with what success and with what results? □

Cancerous Budget

Congress's failure to confront the pending retirement of the Baby-Boomers may lead to catastrophe.

JOHN ATTARIAN

FROM THE bragging about the budget deal by its top players, it was quite an achievement. "We have put America's fiscal house in order again," crowed President Clinton on the White House lawn on July 29. Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott (Miss.) was even more extravagant. "Today we celebrate the beginning of a new era of freedom," he proclaimed. For John Kasich, it was "a dream come true."

Prima facie, the plan does look impressive. In 1998–2002, it cuts taxes by a net $95 billion—the first tax cut since 1981—and cuts projected spending by about $263 billion, including $115 billion from Medicare and $10 billion from Medicaid.

Closer scrutiny, however, discloses spending-side sins, of commission and omission, which make it impossible to reconcile the budget deal with prudence or even sanity.

First, discretionary spending cuts must provide about half the planned savings—but Congress has made no hard choices specifying where the knife will fall and how deeply. "That's the silent victim," said Robert Reischauer, a Brookings Institution senior fellow and former Congressional Budget Office director. "No one talked about where those savings are going to come from." Moreover, most of them are postponed until 2001 and 2002.

Furthermore, the deal significantly undoes last year's welfare savings. Legal immigrants who lost eligibility for disability benefits get them back, costing $11 billion over 1998–2002. Congress also voted $1.5 billion to reverse food-stamp cuts, and $3 billion to help welfare recipients get jobs.

However, the budget deal's worst flaw is its willful refusal to face the Baby Boomers' retirement, which will create a genuinely catastrophic fiscal crisis.

The generation that was born between 1946 and 1964 and will start retiring about 2010 is abnormally huge (hence "Baby Boom"), and will be supported by a slower-growing taxpayer population. Under Social Security's intermediate actuarial assumptions (intermediate, that is, between optimistic and pessimistic), from 1995 to 2030, when the last Boomers retire, the population aged 65 and over will *double*, from 34.2 million to 68.4 million. But the population aged 20 to 64, whose taxes will pay their Social Security and Medicare benefits, will grow by just 20.6 per cent—from 159.6 million to 192.4 million.

This spells disaster. Today, 3.3 taxpayers support every beneficiary of Old-Age Survivors and Disability Insurance (OASDI); under intermediate assumptions this ratio falls to 3.0 in 2010 and just 2.0 in 2030. Likewise, in 1996 Medicare's Hospital Insurance (HI) had 3.9 taxpayers supporting each beneficiary. In 2030, there will be just 2.3 taxpayers per beneficiary. The conclusion is inescapable: current Medicare and Social Security tax rates cannot possibly generate enough revenue to pay the Boomers' benefits.

With their outlays outstripping their resources, OASDI and HI will have to liquidate their "trust funds" of government debt. HI is already doing so—it ran deficits of $4.2 billion in fiscal 1996 and an estimated $9.9 billion in 1997—and, under intermediate assumptions, it will go bankrupt in 2001. OASDI's trust fund is projected under intermediate assumptions to run out in 2029. Under high-cost assumptions, which Social Security's former chief actuary A. Haeworth Robertson argues are more realistic, OASDI will go bankrupt in 2018—just 21 years from now.

The trust-fund deficits will quickly become catastrophic (see table). Without timely, radical reform of Social Security and Medicare, all our options will be bad. Abrupt, large increases in Social Security and Medicare taxes to erase these deficits and keep paying current-law benefits would crush millions of taxpayers and the economy as a whole. Abrupt, deep benefit slashes would devastate retirees. Covering these huge deficits by borrowing would add similar amounts to the budget deficit. If our creditors refused to lend such sums, as they well might, the only other recourse would be hyperinflation.

SOCIAL SECURITY AND MEDICARE CASH DEFICITS, INTERMEDIATE ACTUARIAL ASSUMPTIONS
(Billions of Dollars)

Calendar Year	OASDI	HI	Total
2010	13	–156	–143
2015	–65	–271	–335
2020	–218	–460	–677
2025	–425	–738	1,163
2030	–662	–1,147	–1,809
2035	–891	–1,683	–2,574
2040	–1,098	–2,351	–3,450

Source: 1997 OASDI Annual Report

HOW much time do we have to avert these outcomes? In *The Big Lie*, his recent popular-level criticism of Social Security, former chief actuary Robertson persuasively contends that "Frankly, it is already too late to make a smooth transition to a

Mr. Attarian is a freelance writer in Ann Arbor, Michigan, with a PhD in economics.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

new system (we should have acted in the early 1980s). A very bumpy transition can be made in the late 1990s"—that is, now. After 2000, however, "we will be trapped." Social Security's unsustainability will be clear, but "it will be too late to implement a revised program without causing a different form of social and economic turmoil that is equally disturbing."

In the face of these warnings, Congress's performance has been criminally feckless. At first, it looked as if Congress would at least nibble the Medicare bullet. The Senate approved increasing monthly Medicare B (Supplemental Medical Insurance, SMI) premiums for higher-income beneficiaries, raising the benefit-eligibility age from 65 to 67, and charging (gasp!) five-dollar fees for home-health-care visits. But in the end Congress flinched from even these modest measures, opting to get most of its projected savings by squeezing payments to doctors, hospitals, and other providers. It also resorted to a classic dodge of foundering concerns: shifting costs from a sick unit to a healthy one. Home-health-care costs were switched from Medicare A (HI) to Medicare B (SMI), which is financed from general revenues and patient premiums. This supposedly postpones HI's trust-fund insolvency to 2007.

Meanwhile, President Clinton, who is paid to provide leadership, furnished none whatsoever. Indeed, his demagoguery on the Republicans' 1995 Medicare reform attempt doubtless influenced Congress to avoid bold measures.

This year's vaunted budget deal furnished mere palliatives. True, squeezing providers will slice HI's projected deficit (on intermediate assumptions) for 1998–2002 from $179.9 billion to $64.9 billion. But afterward, even at cheaper rates, the exploding beneficiary population will still swamp Medicare. As for the cost-shifting, in calendar 1996 home-health-care costs were $17.5 billion, just 13.5 per cent of HI expenditures, up only slightly from $15.5 billion (13.3 per cent) in 1995. Hence this gambit gives only minor relief. And HI deficits are projected to explode even before the Boomers retire: $69.6 billion in fiscal 2003, $97.3 billion in 2005, and $114.5 billion in 2006.

In any event, the deal's Medicare expansions will offset its savings. The budget bill creates, of all things, seven *new* benefits, covering things such as mammography; Pap smears; tests for colon cancer, prostate cancer, and osteoporosis; and education in self-testing for diabetics. The bill provides $4 billion for these benefits. Medicare payments to health-maintenance organizations serving rural areas get increased, too. When the Boomers retire, these expansions will raise Medicare spending by tens of billions of dollars annually—opening another vein on an exsanguinating patient.

Neither party will care to enter the 2000 presidential election with its name on draconian Medicare reforms.

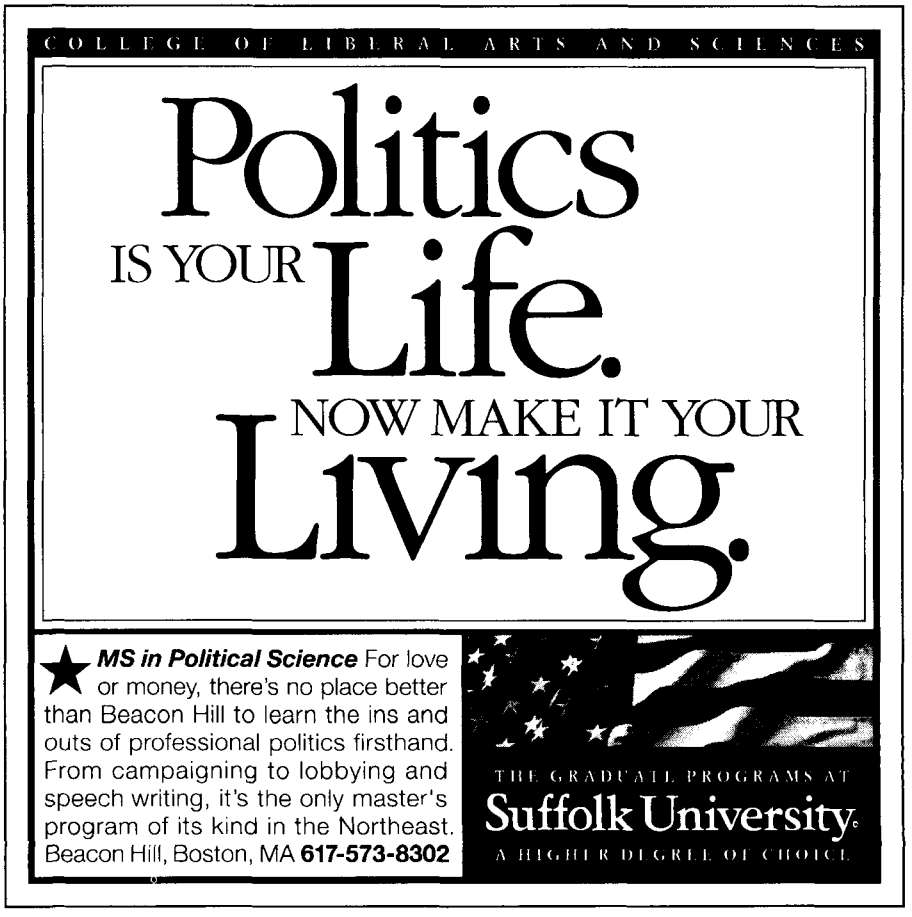
The deal's only acknowledgment of oncoming disaster is the appointment of a bipartisan commission to study Medicare and issue a report by January 1999—15 months away. Congress thus has an excuse for inaction this year and next, so that it can avoid more Medicare demagoguery from Clinton in the 1998 election. And neither party will care to enter the 2000 presidential election with its name on draconian Medicare reforms. Congress's escape into a commission, then, most probably means no action until 2001—which, as Robertson argues, would be too late.

Note that the Social Security Advisory Council reported this past January, three years after its formation, and nothing has yet been done about its proposals. The budget deal ignored Social Security completely.

In short, the budget deal threw away what was probably our last chance to squeeze through a rapidly closing window of opportunity.

Under these circumstances, the last thing America needs is another entitlement, but the deal created one, for children without health insurance. States will receive $24 billion in 1998–2002 to provide health insurance for 3.4 million uninsured children in any of several ways: buy private insurance for children; expand Medicaid; strengthen other programs; or locate uninsured children and buy services directly from doctors and other providers.

If this sounds innocuous, recall that


COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS AND SCIENCES
Politics
IS YOUR Life.
NOW MAKE IT YOUR
Living.
MS in Political Science For love or money, there's no place better than Beacon Hill to learn the ins and outs of professional politics firsthand. From campaigning to lobbying and speech writing, it's the only master's program of its kind in the Northeast. Beacon Hill, Boston, MA 617-573-8302
THE GRADUATE PROGRAMS AT
Suffolk University
A HIGHER DEGREE OF CHOICE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

today's budget-busting Medicare and Medicaid started as a cloud no bigger than a man's hand. From an initial $2.5 billion in 1967, Medicare outlays had soared to $171.3 billion by 1996. In 1965, Medicaid spent just $300 million; in 1996, $92 billion.

Moreover, just as Medicaid created incentives for well-off Americans to artificially impoverish themselves by asset transfers in order to qualify for benefits, so Kiddiecare creates incentives for lower- and middle-income parents not to insure their children, and for employers not to insure employees' children.

And the Administration's agenda in this area makes it almost certain that this $24 billion for Kiddiecare is only the beginning. Unable to socialize medicine in one swoop, the Clintons are now socializing it by salami-slicing. Writing in the *New York Times* on August 5, Mrs. Clinton made that clear—and signaled that we can expect intense Administration pressure to maximize the beneficiary population:

> As the largest expansion in children's health coverage since Medicaid's creation 30 years ago, the bipartisan legislation could move the United States closer to shedding its status as the only Western industrialized nation that does not provide basic health benefits to *all children*. . . .
>
> . . . While $24 billion . . . should be a significant incentive, dollars alone may not induce participation across the board. That's why our most urgent task is to educate citizens, especially parents, about what is at stake, and *to encourage state officials to join the program and assure adequate benefits for all children*. . . .
>
> While this law will not fully achieve the universal coverage that I believe is in the nation's best interest, Americans should be proud that our *Government has made another down payment on the President's goal of providing health insurance for all citizens.* [Italics added.]

The effect on federal health-care outlays is grimly predictable. Putting all ten million uninsured children on Kiddiecare, as the Clintons want, would probably roughly triple the five-year cost, to about $72 billion. Fold in the additional millions of uninsured infants and children whom we can expect among us in the next two decades if illegitimacy and divorce and Third World immigration keep soaring, and we have a recipe for burdens that we cannot conceivably bear.

The budget-balancing pact is a disaster. It cravenly backloads its vague, bogus spending cuts into the next century. Its expansion of Medicare as the program founders and its creation of a new entitlement will make it almost impossible to avoid being drowned by the oncoming *tsunami* of red ink. Some dream. □

Tuning Out Religion

Portrayals of faith on network television range from the offensive to the absurd.

EVAN GAHR

MEET Father Ray. The lead character on the new ABC series *Nothing Sacred*, he is, according to ABC, a brash iconoclast, who regularly runs afoul of the Church hierarchy.

Actually, Father Ray is like most small-screen clerics: he adheres to the liberal holy trinity of diversity, sensitivity, and tolerance, and is mighty selective about just which icons he'll smash. In fact, his iconoclasm so far seems to be limited to sexual morality. In the opening episode, Father Ray puts his urban congregation on notice that he won't be a "sexual traffic cop." The Bible, he explains, has little to say, or what it says is outdated, about abortion and homosexuality. True to his word, Father Ray advises a pregnant teenager to follow her own conscience about whether to have an abortion. (Would television glorify a priest who told a teenaged girl to follow her own conscience about whether to smoke cigarettes? Probably not.)

But Father Ray's "non-judgmental" approach to life has the critics cooing. "The small screen at its best," gushed the *Washington Post*. The *New York Times* hailed *Nothing Sacred* for the "thoughtfulness of its writing" and its "ambiguity."

The critical acclaim shouldn't surprise. Priests aren't ready for prime time unless they're "pro-choice"—or otherwise mock whichever religious teachings affront liberal sensibilities. As William Donahue of the Catholic League for Religion and Civil Rights notes, "The more dissenting the Catholic, the more reasonable they're portrayed. The more Orthodox, the more Neanderthal."

Priests aren't ready for prime time unless they mock whichever religious teachings affront liberal sensibilities.

But it doesn't always work among the actual viewers. In response to a boycott organized by the League, 18 sponsors have withdrawn ads from *Nothing Sacred*. And the show has proved a ratings flop, finishing 54th out of 119 programs its first week, and 92nd out of 116 the second week.

Will this finally get the networks' attention? In a country where 90 per cent of the people say they believe in God and more than 50 per cent attend church or synagogue regularly, religion is accorded scant attention on prime time. Last year, according to the Media Research Center, religion—counting everything from a joke to a plot line—figured in just 486 shows out of some 1,800 prime-time hours on the broadcast networks (ABC, CBS, Fox, NBC, UPN, and WB). The Center concluded that "Prime time has too often presented distorted, unfair views of both clergy and laity."

There are, of course, exceptions. In one moving *Homicide* show, the hard-nosed detective played by Richard Belzer is seen praying to God. More often, though, the small screen gives the impression that devout believers are rather more likely than other people to

Mr. Gahr writes frequently on education and culture for The American Enterprise *magazine, which published an earlier version of this piece in its September / October issue.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

be outright criminals. NBC's *Law and Order* last season featured a slew of religious psychos—including a theology student who kills three people while under the impression that he's a Biblical warrior.

A similar ignorance and willingness to downplay or ignore serious religious devotion informs news coverage. In the last four years, according to the Media Research Center, only 955 of 72,000 evening news stories were devoted to religion. And network news continues to overlook the obvious religious dimension of certain stories—even when it is literally shouted at them.

When heavyweight champion Evander Holyfield was interviewed live after being bitten by Mike Tyson, Holyfield repeatedly praised Jesus and suggested that his faith helped keep him calm during Tyson's barbaric attack. But the subsequent, and otherwise exhaustive, news coverage virtually ignored Holyfield's repeated and explicit religious pronouncements. You don't need a particularly vivid imagination to conjure up the ruckus that would have ensued if Tyson had said God made him do it.

AFTER repeatedly ignoring the persecution of Christians abroad, network news gave prominent play to a State Department report this summer detailing abuses in China and elsewhere. But after a straightforward story on the matter from a CBS correspondent, Dan Rather offered a curious addendum.

Although known for his high-profile confrontations, Rather tamely parroted the Chinese line on the persecution, saying, "A very high-ranking Chinese government official" recently told him that the "stories are untrue. We do, as you do, have some trouble with cults and we, like you, deal with them accordingly, but that's all."

Nevertheless, there are some bright spots in television's treatment of religion. At the prodding of *World News Tonight* anchor Peter Jennings, who labored to overcome the strenuous objections of jittery colleagues, Peggy Wehmeyer became the first network religion correspondent in 1994.

Mrs. Wehmeyer, a "moderate evangelical," is an oddity to many in the news business. "People assume I can't be objective because I'm a Christian." The subjects of her stories have ranged from Christian Capitalists and a spiritual revival among Jews to Hollywood and television. She emphasizes that she's grateful for ABC and their commitment to religious news coverage—a commitment underscored when ABC signed her to another three-year contract this spring.

In addition, *Good Morning America* now offers regular religion commentators known as the "God Squad." Rabbi Marc Gellman and Monsignor Thomas Hartman are the first clergymen on network television in some forty years—and a far cry from the pseudo-iconoclasts among television's fictional men of the cloth.

Monsignor Hartman has indirectly indicated approval for the Catholic bishop who last year decreed that members of his diocese would effectively be excommunicated if they belonged to any of a number of organizations, such as Planned Parenthood, whose activities contravene Church teachings. Rabbi Gellman, a Milwaukee-born Reform Jew, explains that "several people on ABC went way out on a limb" to bring the God Squad on the air and complains that the media generally suffer from an anti-religious bias. He's determined to show viewers and the media elite that religion isn't scary.

Gellman has his work cut out for him. Just ask Martha Williamson. This born-again Christian had to fight tooth and nail to get her show, *Touched by an Angel*, on the air. Panned by critics, *Touched by an Angel* soon achieved immense popularity. With some twenty million viewers weekly—last season it ranked among television's top three pro-

Ted Turner says the rich don't give enough.

Ted is wrong.

If you have substantial wealth you cannot avoid giving most of it away:

- to the government in estate taxes,
- to others during your lifetime, or
- to a foundation where others will do the giving for you.

The real question is will you be smart about your giving.

The failures of the welfare state (and the UN, for that matter) demonstrate that giving -- even big giving -- is not enough. Giving is an investment and good investing requires knowledge and the benefit of thoughtful experience. Why not spend a small fraction of the time you devote to earning your wealth to thinking about how to give it away?

The Philanthropy Roundtable is an association of more than 400 foundations and individual donors, dedicated to fostering smarter giving. If you are a person of substantial wealth, we offer you state-of-the-art information on effective philanthropy. Just write, call, fax or email us with your name and address and we will send you a copy of our newest guide, ***Questions to Ask Before You Write the Check***. We will also send you ***Philanthropy***, our quarterly magazine covering the latest issues and best information about what works in philanthropy.

You are going to give anyway, so why not give smart?

THE PHILANTHROPY ROUNDTABLE
1150 17TH STREET, N.W., SUITE 503
WASHINGTON, DC 20036
TEL.(202) 822-8333 FAX (202) 822-8325

The PHILANTHROPY ROUNDTABLE

email: main@philanthropyroundtable.org
website: http://philanthropyroundtable.org

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Controversy

"DOMESTIC terrorists" and "Hoods." The derelict image of Puerto Ricans that Jorge Amselle portrays in his article "State Hood" [*NR*, Aug. 11] belies the loyalty, commitment to democracy, and valuable contributions of the Puerto Rican people to the United States, of which, by law, they are citizens. I speak for the 3.8 million Puerto Ricans residing on the island, as well as the 2.5 million residing throughout the 50 states, including hundreds of thousands of veterans, government officials, physicians, business owners, scientists, teachers, engineers, athletes, blue-collar workers, mothers, and children, who have been smeared by this article.

I can only speculate about Mr. Amselle's motivations, but I find contemptible his attempt to portray law-abiding, loyal citizens as hoods, abusers of government programs, and terrorists.

Mr. Amselle fails to inform the reader that Puerto Rico is the last political jurisdiction of more than one million inhabitants in the Western Hemisphere that is still a colony, and yet it has never revolted by force of arms against the colonial government. Puerto Rico has a history of peace, commitment to democracy, and political tolerance like that of no other territory or nation in the Western Hemisphere.

Perhaps Mr. Amselle is not aware that Puerto Rico, if considered a foreign country, would be among the top ten customers for American goods in the world. This translates into a contribution of billions of dollars to the economy of the 50 states. Puerto Rico is the fourth busiest container cargo port in the Western Hemisphere, and shipments between Puerto Rico and the 50 states account for 25 per cent of the total value of shipments carried by U.S. flag vessels. Our manufacturing workforce is among the most highly educated in the world.

THE U.S. citizens in Puerto Rico have fought and died for their country in two World Wars and numerous other conflicts. Puerto Rico has the second-highest number of war casualties per capita among jurisdictions of the United States; more than eight thousand Puerto Rican men and women made the ultimate sacrifice in wars this century, and no one asked them, before they met their deaths, if they spoke English. The most decorated regiment in the Korean War was the 65th Infantry Regiment, almost exclusively made up of Puerto Ricans.

The United States, as the champion of freedom, fights for the rights set forth in our Constitution. So have Puerto Ricans since we were granted U.S. citizenship in 1917. Every President since Harry Truman has urged Congress to support political self-determination for the U.S. citizens of Puerto Rico. Ronald Reagan made a point of saying that he was "confident in my belief that statehood would benefit both the people of Puerto Rico and their fellow American citizens in the 50 states." If Puerto Rico elected to become a state, Reagan said, "the language and culture of the island, rich in history and tradition, would be respected." That is one of the reasons why the current conservative Republican leadership of the U.S. Congress, including Speaker Newt Gingrich, has joined in the bi-partisan effort on behalf of HR-856, the United States–Puerto Rico Political Status Act.

This bill is not about declaring Puerto Rico a state. It is about one of the most fundamental of American liberties—the right to self-determination. HR-856 simply authorizes a process by which the people of Puerto Rico can vote in a referendum that provides three political options: continuation of the current "Commonwealth" status; statehood; and independence.

It is nearly 100 years since Puerto Rico became part of the United States, as a result of the Spanish–American War of 1898. Yet, despite Puerto Ricans' sacrifices in the military conflicts of this century, the island still remains a territory, and its 3.8 million American citizens are denied participation in the democratic processes of our nation.

Throughout this century, the United States has enjoyed the unwavering allegiance of the people of Puerto Rico. As American citizens we share the same democratic ideals and principles. Now, we are demanding our inherent and often-promised right to decide our political destiny. It is my hope that incendiary, unfounded, and prejudiced articles like Mr. Amselle's will not undermine our right to equal opportunity in our pursuit of the American Dream.

—CARLOS ROMERO-BARCELÓ

Mr. Romero-Barceló is the Resident Commissioner for Puerto Rico in the United States House of Representatives.

---

grams—it now airs in a coveted Sunday-night time slot. It stars blues singer Della Reese and Irish-brogued Roma Downey as two angels who show up just when people most need them and God. In one episode Miss Downey offers a woman who had sold her baby for drug money a chance for redemption, telling her, "God [will] forgive you even if you can't. His mercies are brand new every morning."

The show has, according to Mrs. Williamson, "thrived as a drama that explores moral and spiritual choices, taking a definite and unapologetic point of view: God exists, God loves you, God wants to be part of your life."

Meanwhile, in the face of criticism from the Catholic League for Religious and Civil Rights, ABC insists that *Nothing Sacred* simply portrays the "human" side of priests. But according to critics, executive producer David Manson has been less than forthright in his defense of the show. Manson told the *Los Angeles Times* and the Associated Press that the pilot program was reviewed by the "L.A. Roman Catholic Diocese." True, but Father Gregory Coiro, director of media relations for the Archdiocese of Los Angeles, gave the pilot a *negative* review.

In *Glued to the Set* (Free Press, 1997), Steven Stark notes that commercial television is "ruthlessly secular. Its emphasis is on the immediate, the here and now." Orthodox religion, says Stark, is antithetical to "television's very notion of itself."

Sadly, despite the God Squad and *Touched by an Angel* and Peggy Wehmeyer, it is hard to disagree with Stark. The non-judgmental Father Ray will do his best to ensure that nothing really is sacred on the small screen. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WASHINGTON DIARIST

Autumn Leaves

ONE OF THE JOYS OF A DISTRICT autumn is the leafy view from the breakfast nook of the Naval Observatory, the Vice President's official residence. Sitting in that sunlit aerie one recent weekend, relaxing with Vice President Gore, sipping Sumatra Dark Roast (with a touch of cinnamon—thanks, Tipper!) one could almost forget the swirl of controversy that surrounds this handsome couple. "The autumn leaves are lovely," I murmur, over a "Bach for Brunch" CD. "Such wonderful colors," I say. "Actually," the Vice President counters, "the colors, as you call them, are not strictly lovely. Some of the brighter reds betray a soil too rich in copper and manganese. And the yellows used to be a lot yellower." "Oh." "In fact, most of the trees you see growing on that slope—all the way down to Rock Creek Park—aren't even indigenous to this area." "They aren't?" I ask, my curiosity piqued. "No, Marty, they're not. This whole river valley was just one big swamp." "No trees at all?" I ask, thunderstruck by the vision he has presented. "Um, no big ones, anyway." I am struck by the way he holds those two competing images in his head—the swampy origins of the District (an apt metaphor for these swampy, politicized times) and the blazing oranges and reds of the imported trees, Trees, like him, who make an uneasy home here, even though they, like him, have lived here for most of their lives. I share this thought with the Vice President. His brow furrows. "But Marty," he says, "I'm not a tree."

YEARS AGO, WHEN I HAD JUST purchased this magazine, I had lunch with the young senator from Tennessee. I knew him from my Harvard days—when I, a professor, and he, an undergraduate, effortlessly switched places. In those wartorn days, he became my teacher. And except for the end of each semester, when I invariably gave this serious and also very witty young man an "A++," it was he who did the lecturing and I who took the notes. We had lunch at the Palm restaurant, across the street from our editorial offices. I ate too quickly, excited perhaps at the sight of my former student. A piece of steak went down the wrong way. I gasped and clutched at my throat, which experts say is the wrong thing to do. Meanwhile, the junior senator from Tennessee was explaining, in measured tones, his thinking on an upcoming Contra-funding battle. I turned a deep blue. He sketched out decision trees on a cocktail napkin. As much as I didn't want to choke to death, I also didn't want to interrupt his complex and original decision-making process. It was a difficult moment, solved, happily, by the senior senator from Massachusetts, who, passing by our table, gave me a such a hearty clap on the back that the piece of food dislodged itself. Years later, I shared this anecdote with the Vice President. He, ever attentive to near-death experiences and the political lessons from them, wondered why I was eating meat. I could offer no explanation. "It was the Reagan '80's," he finally posited. "Civilization had broken down."

I'VE OFTEN WONDERED HOW, exactly, he came to lose the primaries in 1988. It wasn't for lack of support. Readers of TNR know only too well how hard we fought for him. As we pull on our rain boots for a brisk walk, I put the question to him. "Money," he says. I look at him curiously. "Money?" I ask. "Money," he answers. I burst out laughing. His deadpan humor, even in the face of the relentless partisan attack machine, remains intact. His gift for mockery, his ironic sensibility (Gore the shameless pol! Gore the partisan hack!) still put me away. "I'm not kidding, Marty. You'd be surprised what you can do with money." I clutch my sides. I gasp for air.

LATER THAT DAY, SITTING IN the warmly decorated sun room, going over the page proofs of this issue of TNR, I compile two lists. The first list is composed of those staffers who have refrained from using "Al Gore" and "Independent Prosecutor" in the context of suggesting that the latter is appropriate for the former. The second is a list of those staffers who have, shall we say, not. Gore holds the second list in strong, expressive, healing hands. "Are you going to fire these people?" he asks, in his quiet though firm voice. "No," I say. "I'm going to give them all a raise!" We break out in grins. The Vice President leans back and chuckles wildly. As our laughter dies down, he becomes grave. "No, but seriously, Marty, you're going to fire them, right?"

YEARS AGO, IN A BRUTAL Boston winter, the young undergraduate came to a tutorial to find his favorite professor, me, laid low by an influenza of 19th-century ferocity. He brewed a healing tea, and made a hot poultice of sage and wheatberry. He saved my life.

ATTORNEY GENERAL JANET Reno's bizarre decision to continue investigating this man, and, let us be honest here, to pander to her overlord, Bill Clinton, is one of the sadder sideshows in this political circus. Gore and I talk this over as we stroll the grounds of the Observatory. He is, as always, generous to the President. About his fundraising phone calls he is also pragmatic. "We had to win, Marty," he says. I nod agreement. Lost in our thoughts, we absentmindedly walk through a deep and muddy puddle. I stop to wring out my socks. Gore looks at me quizzically, then down at his own dry feet. "But how can anyone walk through a puddle and not get their shoes wet?" I wonder aloud. The Vice President shrugs. He, uncharacteristically, has no theory to offer. But I do. He doesn't walk through the puddles. He walks above them.

MARTIN PERETZ

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

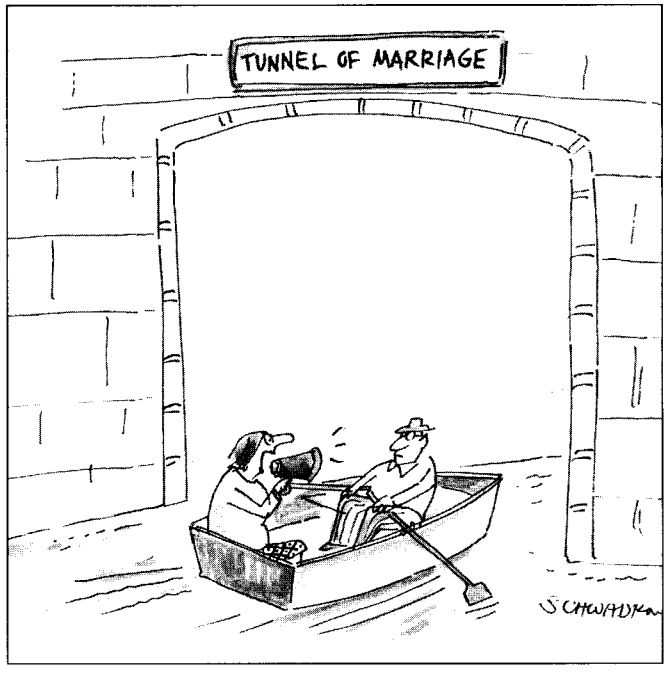
helo!!!!

A Developing Story

There's a gleam in Gephardt's eye.
Once a slave to alkali—
Pepto-Bismol, Rolaids, Tums—
Every time Gore beat his gums,
Gephardt skips like Dorothy
When her house made history
(What a flight path!) of the witch.
Dick likes watching Al Gore twitch.

—W. H. von Dreele

"Oh, very well—patient exhibits latent paranoid tendencies and rock-hard abs."



"Ever since they've stood up straight, there's nothing they won't stoop to."

© Mal Ent., Inc.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS, ARTS & MANNERS

I'm Ill, Therefore I'll Write

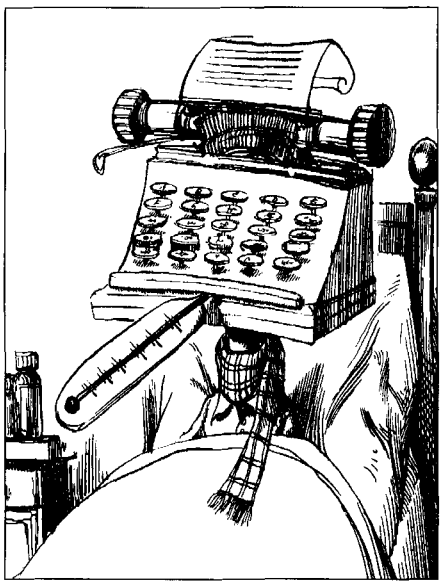
ANTHONY DANIELS

IT is often said that everyone has a book in him. Until I read these volumes, I thought this both trite and untrue; but now that disease has spawned a fast-expanding literary genre all its own—the memoir of illness—I realize that I was sadly mistaken. Death remains the most egalitarian of all human institutions, the inflexible rule still being one man, one death, and since it is generally preceded by at least one fatal illness, even among the previously healthy, the number of potential additions to this particular literary genre is nearly equal to the entire population of the world. Indeed, it far exceeds that number, inasmuch as non-fatal diseases are nowadays also thought worthy of memorialization. I'm ill, therefore I'll write.

There are two main varieties of illness memoirs: the "Why is this happening to me, and why didn't the doctors prevent it, or diagnose and cure it earlier?" school, and the "I never realized that life was so beautiful until I contracted chronic diarrhea" school. These are not necessarily polar opposites: some of these books contain elements of both. Several of them contain the good-doc, bad-doc routine: the white-coated monster of insensitivity being replaced, after many travails and misadventures, by the omnicompassionate technological miracle worker.

The purest example of the former school is Louise DeSalvo's *Breathless: An Asthma Journal*. She is a professor of English at Hunter College and the author of *Virginia Woolf: Sexual Abuse in Her Life and Work*. Presumably, therefore, she is in touch with the latest currents of what might be called the Higher Resentment. It must be admitted that her doctors took an unconscionable time in diagnosing her condition, but I can find no justification at all for her assertion that "asthma is a breathing disorder that is caused by abuse and that it is probably a manifestation of post-traumatic stress."

The worst that seems to have happened to her is that a maiden aunt once touched her in a faintly lascivious manner in the bath when she was very young, which is not, in the context of the horrors of the twentieth century, an event of extraordinary frightfulness; and why this should have led to asthma more than four decades later is a mystery by comparison with which that of the origin of life on earth is very simple indeed to fathom.



Roman Genn

It is clear that Professor DeSalvo longs for the halo of victimhood. To be a victim is the nearest anyone can come to sanctity in these non-judgmental days. To have been badly treated (preferably in one's childhood) is a guarantee simultaneously of one's significance and of one's moral rectitude. It justifies the permanent—and undoubtedly pleasurable—state of righteous indignation adopted by people who, by the standards of 99.99 per cent of the people who have ever lived, lead fortunate and privileged lives.

As I read Professor DeSalvo's simultaneously indignant, smug, and platitudinous exhortations ("Stop abusing the planet . . . Stop abusing our children . . . stop sexually abusing them . . . Stop trauma . . . [including] war"), words from a novel in which one of the characters suffers from asthma ran through my head like a refrain. In this short memoir, Professor DeSalvo mentions many characters from literature who have suffered from asthma, but—perhaps unsurprisingly—not Piggy in William Golding's *Lord of the Flies*. I regret to say that her complacent outrage caused me to sympathize with Piggy's

Dr. Daniels is a physician, traveler, and author of Utopias Elsewhere *(Crown).*

Breathless: An Asthma Journal, by Louise DeSalvo (Beacon, 153 pp., $20)

February Light: A Love Letter to the Seasons during a Year of Cancer and Recovery, by Heather Trexler Remoff (St. Martin's, 167 pp., $20.95)

The Diving Bell and the Butterfly, by Jean-Dominique Bauby (Knopf, 132 pp., $20)

Patient: The True Story of a Rare Illness, by Ben Watt (Grove, 178 pp., $21)

Stuttering: A Life Bound Up in Words, by Marty Jezer (Basic, 266 pp., $23)

Second Act: Life after Colostomy and Other Adventures, by Barbara Barrie (Scribner, 255 pp., $23)

The Seeing Glass: A Memoir, by Jacquelin Gorman (Riverhead, 255 pp., $22.95)

BooksNow
To order these books, (24hrs, 365 days) please call (800) 962-6651 (Ext. 3700) or visit us at http://www.booksnow.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tormentors, who exclaim more than once, "Sucks to your ass-mar!"

At the other end of the spectrum is *February Light*, an account of the author's recovery from ovarian cancer. It reads rather like an extended and superior get-well card and is very upbeat about the whole experience of potentially fatal illness. Like several other of the authors of these memoirs, Heather Trexler Remoff is rather surprised that she ever became ill at all, since she had always eaten healthily and jogged several miles a day, the two modern guarantors of eternal life. By mentioning her habits, she is establishing not only her innocence and therefore the undeserved nature of her illness, but also her credentials as a serious and responsible person. By contrast, those feckless smokers and physically immobile consumers of junk food deserve every illness they get.

Professor Remoff lives in rural Pennsylvania, in a large Victorian house by a lake, and she extols the beauty of the countryside in saccharin prose. She prays that she will survive at least until she is able to complete a book proposing a total reform of society along the lines suggested long ago by Henry George —the kind of social reform which would make the cure of ovarian cancer by highly technological means virtually impossible. Still, one must remember that such books are written not to reform society in reality, but to establish the moral qualities of the intellectuals writing them, so as to allow them to continue to enjoy every possible advantage of society as it is currently constituted with a good liberal conscience.

Of all these books the most valuable by far is *The Diving Bell and the Butterfly* by Jean-Dominique Bauby, a Frenchman who, still in his early forties, had a rare kind of stroke that left him conscious but virtually unable to communicate with others, in the so-called "locked-in syndrome." He managed to dictate this short memoir by using the blink of his left eye (the only part of his body still under voluntary control) to indicate the letter of the alphabet when read a list of letters by an amanuensis, laboriously to spell out words. Most poignantly, he died a couple of days after its French publication.

Bauby was editor of *Elle* and, until his stroke, led the kind of glamorous existence which is not necessarily an aid to deep philosophical reflection. *Le Monde* even questioned whether it was possible that this memoir was really his, rather than a work of semi-fiction by his amanuensis. I see no reason to doubt its authenticity, however, and it is a moving affirmation of the value of life even after so catastrophic an event.

Interestingly, shortly after I finished reading this book, *The Lancet* published an interview with the former president of the British Royal College of Physicians, Professor Raymond Hoffenberg, in which he said that his worst nightmare was to be treated for locked-in syndrome by a physician who did not believe in euthanasia. The juxtaposition of this memoir and that interview neatly encapsulated the fallacy of the concept of the living will: you can't decide whether life is still worth living under certain conditions until you're actually experiencing them—by which time, of course, it may be too late.

In an age of rude good health, the ill are heroes, no less to be admired than the warriors and statesmen of old.

THE other four memoirs record their authors' struggles with conditions as diverse as Churg-Strauss syndrome (a rare complication of asthma), stuttering, rectal cancer, and optic neuritis causing temporary blindness. Written with various degrees of sensitivity (and largely padded out with memories of this and that from their pre-morbid lives), they raise the interesting question of whom they are written for, and why.

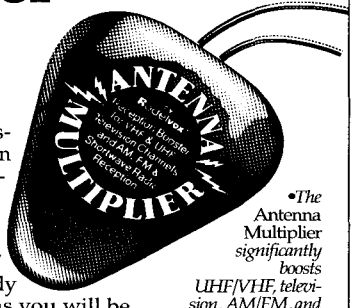
It can hardly be that they are written for fellow sufferers, since, according to the *Oxford Textbook of Medicine*, there had been only 154 cases of Churg-Strauss syndrome reported in the world as of 1996, and some of the people so afflicted had died, so that sales of Ben Watt's *Patient*, an account of his experience of this condition, would have been exiguous even by the standards of academic publishing had they relied solely upon Churg-Straussians.

By contrast, Barbara Barrie's *Second Act*, subtitled *Life after Colostomy and Other Adventures*, deals with a common

Get TV reception you never had before, with the ...

Antenna Multiplier™ still only $29.95*

But read this ad for an even better deal!



•The Antenna Multiplier significantly boosts UHF/VHF, television, AM/FM, and shortwave radio reception.

You won't need it if you are connected to a cable system, but if you are not you will now get TV reception that you could never enjoy before. Inside its plastic housing, the *Antenna Multiplier*™ hides a small technical miracle—an array of electronic components that literally multiplies the reception power of your TV. The *Antenna Multiplier*™ stabilizes your TV picture, eliminates "ghosts" and static, and brings in stations that were until now only visible as flickers and annoying shadows. In most areas you will be able to eliminate any outdoor antenna completely (limited by atmospheric or geographic constraints). The *Multiplier*™ needs no outside power—it gets its "juice" right through your TV set. You place the *Multiplier*™ on the television set itself, lay it on a nearby table, or hang it on the wall. And, of course, you can bid your messy and ineffective rabbit ears, loop, rod, or dish antennas good-bye. *Antenna Multiplier*™ will not just enhance your TV reception, it also vastly improves AM/FM radio reception and brings in new stations on multiband and shortwave receivers, for new entertainment alternatives.

We are the exclusive importers of the *Antenna Multiplier*™ in the United States and can therefore bring you this outstanding TV accessory for just $29.95. But we have an even better deal: ***Buy two for $59.90, and we'll send you a third one, with our compliments—absolutely FREE!*** Unleash the full power of your television with *Antenna Multiplier*™ . Order it today!

FOR FASTEST SERVICE, ORDER
TOLL FREE (800) 797-7367
OR BY FAX (415) 546-7808
24 Hours a Day, 7 Days a Week.

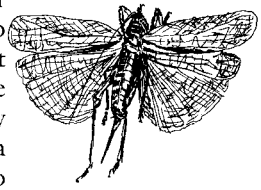
Please give order Code **#1006D242**. If you prefer, mail check or card authorization and expiration. We need daytime phone # for all orders and issuing bank for charge orders. Add $4.95 standard shipping/insurance charge (plus sales tax for CA delivery). You have 30-day return and one-year warranty. We do not refund shipping charges.

For quantity orders (100+), call Peaches Jeffries, our Wholesale/Premium Manager at (415) 543-6675 or write her at the address below.

since 1967
haverhills®
185 Berry St., San Francisco, CA 94107

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

condition, and I can quite see that the thousands of people who undergo colostomy every year need practical information about the procedure and its aftereffects. But this is not that kind of book: it seems to be aimed at the general reader. The Library of Congress Cataloguing-in-Publication Data categorize this book, inter alia, under the heading "Colostomy—popular works." When I showed this to a book-dealer friend of mine, he began to wonder whether he shouldn't set a shelf aside in his store for the subject; but quite why any sane person who is not a coprophiliac would wish to read about it is to me utterly inexplicable.



Stuttering is more properly a disability than an illness, though the author of the memoir of that title believes it is caused by a physical cerebral condition too subtle to be diagnosable by the tools that are currently available to neurologists. Marty Jezer strikes me as a thoroughly decent man, of the kind who apologizes to you when you stand on his toes. He is brave, too, inasmuch as he became a political activist despite his truly appalling stutter. His memoir unintentionally records the steady decline in the moral seriousness of American liberalism: from civil rights through the Vietnam War to political correctness.

He describes very well the social difficulties and embarrassments that stutterers face, but this is a subject that perhaps is better suited to an article or an essay than to an entire book. As Voltaire so wisely remarked, the secret of being a bore is to tell everything. And unfortunately Mr. Jezer goes in for that most politically correct of all psychological concepts, self-esteem. "I love myself," he writes, "and accept my stuttering, but I'll never learn . . . to love my stuttering." This is the Oprah Winfrey school of self-examination, simultaneously shallow and destructive. Anybody who can say that he loves himself, or alternatively that he doesn't love himself, is an irredeemably lost soul.

The Seeing Glass is an account of temporary blindness, whose author captures very graphically the terror of fast-disappearing sight due to optic neuritis of uncertain cause. But Jacqueline Germane's account takes an insufficient number of pages to make a book, and therefore she adds in her memories of her autistic brother, sadly killed in a road accident when he was only 31 years old. But her blindness is sufficiently well conveyed to the reader that he shares in her joy at the recovery of her sight.

Despite moving moments in these books, the question still arises as to why this literary genre should have become so popular in the last few years. I have on my shelves scores of such memoirs of illness, sent to me for review, and the number seems to be rising geometrically. It is all most curious.

Perhaps it is because, for the first time in human history, there are large numbers of people alive who have never experienced serious illness. In our assumption of good health, we have forgotten the thousand natural shocks that flesh is heir to. For the sufferers themselves, the experience is so totally unexpected that they feel impelled to write about it; while for readers, the land of illness is as exotic as foreign countries were before the era of the jumbo jet and mass tourism, which have converted everywhere into a neighborhood of everywhere else. Memoirs of illness are thus the modern equivalent of travel literature. Disease is a foreign country; they do things differently there.

There is another reason for our modern obsession with health and deviations therefrom. Despite our longevity, unparalleled in history, we are in a state of existential funk. We are no longer convinced, as our forefathers were, that life has a transcendent meaning or purpose. In these somewhat alarming circumstances, we believe that our present life is all we have, and that its marginal prolongation is the best that we can hope for. We read about health, disease, and death as eagerly and greedily as the pathological gambler reads about systems of betting in roulette or the form of horses. We are looking for auguries of immortality.

Besides, the authors of memoirs of illness enjoy a great and automatic advantage: one must not speak ill of the ill. To cast doubt upon their moral authority is no better than to mug a person in a wheelchair. In an age of rude good health, the ill are heroes, no less to be admired than the warriors and statesmen of old. Let us, therefore, praise unwell men. □

The President Did It

MATTHEW SCULLY

WE are still waiting for the definitive biography of Ronald Reagan by Edmund Morris, the Kenyan-born biographer of Theodore Roosevelt. Morris was set up as in-residence historian at the White House in 1985. He followed Reagan back to California, and at last report was wrapping things up. His *New Yorker* essay a few years ago reflecting on Reagan's farewell letter to America ("I now begin the long journey into the twilight of my life . . .") showed a nice touch. A C-SPAN interview last summer raised hopes still higher, confirming my own sense that it takes an outsider to really size up so big and familiar and thoroughly American a character. It has been nearly nine years since Reagan left office, twelve years since Morris's project began, but masterpieces take time and I don't want to add to the pressures and expectations he already faces. Let's just say it had better be good.

As an entrée, Dinesh D'Souza's *Ronald Reagan* is recommended reading. Best known for his 1991 *Illiberal Education*, a critique of political correctness,

Ronald Reagan: How an Ordinary Man Became an Extraordinary Leader, by Dinesh D'Souza (Free Press, 304 pp., $25)

and his 1995 *The End of Racism*, a case against affirmative action, D'Souza has a calm, reasonable style that seems to land his books in that much more controversy. He displays that style here, too, and the subject can use it. So far, most Reagan books have come from people with too big a stake in his reputation one way or the other, typically adoring, exploitative, back-biting, patronizing, ungrateful, or a little of each. D'Souza, who was a domestic-policy ad-

Mr. Scully, formerly NR*'s literary editor, was later a speechwriter for Vice President Quayle.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

visor in 1987–88, is the rare former aide concerned that Reagan himself be given his due.

The economic growth of the Eighties and the end of the Cold War were, we now hear, "inevitable." They would have come about anyway. Ronald Reagan just happened to be there when the economy took a sudden upswing unlike any other in history. And of course: We paid a big price for it and the rich got richer and it was a decade of greed and trickle-down theory and $800 toilet seats and what about the deficit and voodoo economics and tax breaks and people were living in cars and Milken and sleaze and the shrinking middle class and Reagan napping while senior citizens were eating dog food and cruel budget cuts and what kind of people were we anyway?

As for the end of the Cold War, we're just lucky Reagan didn't muff it and blow us all to kingdom come. Thank God for Gorbachev, the Man Who Changed the World!

We shall be hearing this bit for all eternity, but Mr. D'Souza has done a great service by going back to collect the warnings and prophecies of Reagan's critics before the greatest peacetime economic expansion ever and victory in the long twilight struggle were understood, Revelation-like, to be inexorable. Arguments for inevitability are always more convincing if aired before the Inevitable has occurred. In the event, D'Souza reminds us, only Reagan himself truly believed they could happen, pursuing both with equal disregard for derision from the Left and second-guessing from the Right.

"The stench of failure," said a 1983 *New York Times* editorial, "hangs over Ronald Reagan's White House." This was after the tax cuts during the "Reagan Recession," which even now somehow never gets paired with the "Reagan Recovery." Unless the President abandoned this madness we faced imminent ruin. "A new, completely different strategy is needed," volunteered MIT's Lester Thurow, and let it begin with a massive public-works program.

Abroad, we were staring into the abyss. Here D'Souza's account fills one with nostalgia for those days of massive "nuclear freeze" rallies; panic in Europe over the Pershing missile; ABC's *The Day After*; "Nuclear Countdown" clocks on every American college campus, the hands set at five minutes before annihilation; Jonathan Schell's *The Fate of the Earth*; the American Catholic bishops' pastoral letter all but urging unilateral disarmament. And all the rest of it.

Ronald Reagan "is the most dangerous person ever to come close to the Presidency," warned *The Nation*. "He is a menace to the human race." His "confrontational style," yelped Anthony Lewis in the *New York Times*, was "terribly dangerous." "In the real world . . . there is no escape from the hard work of relating to the Soviet Union."

The Soviet Union, declared Seweryn Bailer in a 1982 *Foreign Affairs* essay, "is not now, nor will it be during the next decade, in the throes of a true economic crisis, for it boasts enormous unused reserves of political and social stability."

"Those in the U.S. who think the Soviet Union is on the verge of economic and social collapse," cautioned Arthur Schlesinger Jr., are "wishful thinkers" merely "kidding themselves."

The President, said *Time*'s Strobe Talbot (who now heads up Russia policy for the Clinton State Department), "is counting on American technological and economic performance to prevail in the end." This was foolish, for if the Soviets were in any kind of crisis "it is a permanent, institutionalized crisis with which the USSR has learned to live."

Again Thurow, in mid 1989, composing perhaps the last known tribute to Soviet Man: "Can economic command . . . accelerate the growth process? The remarkable performance of the Soviet Union suggests it can. . . . Today it is a country whose economic achievements bear comparison with those of the U.S."

In a rational universe, people who turned out to be so wrong—about the central questions of their day, in their own fields of expertise—would now be living in a state of professional ostracism, disrupting obscure conferences with shouts and denials, pouring out anguished memoirs and tracts that only vanity presses would print. They certainly wouldn't be occupying high posts or holding forth from the same journals, editorial perches, and tenured professorships from which their initial predictions were issued.

"Consider," writes D'Souza, "the promises that Reagan made when he campaigned for office. He promised to reduce the inflation rate, and it came down. He promised to cut taxes, and he did. He said that tax cuts would lead to an economic recovery, and it happened. He said that would lower interest rates, and they declined."

Millions of people did indeed exit the middle class—upward. The rich did indeed see their marginal tax rates fall—and their total tax payments rise as productivity and profits rose and tax shelters fell out of use. As for the debt, D'Souza contends, it wasn't a bad bargain if that was the cost of ending the Cold War. Besides which—here relying on my trusty *Right Data* by *NR*'s Ed Rubenstein—tax revenues in the Reagan years rose from an annual $517 billion to $909 billion. As a percentage of GNP, deficits fell between 1983 and 1989. Congress between 1981 and 1989 spent $1.55 for every dollar of revenue.

The economic growth of the Eighties and the end of the Cold War were, we now hear, 'inevitable.'

AND so forth (the S&L fiasco and Congress's part in that, etc.). But moving on to D'Souza's account of the fall of the Soviet Union, one is reminded that no amount of evidence will ever quite do the trick. The ex-Soviets give Reagan more credit for their defeat than Western liberals give him for their deliverance. D'Souza actually wrote to Gorbachev asking his opinion of Reagan's part in the event. "Reagan's merit is this," replied *Time*'s Man of the Decade: "that he responded to our first step together toward . . . real disarmament."

Nice thought, and let us not snatch from Gorbachev this consolation of believing he was all along the master of events, with Reagan merely "responding" to his inspired initiatives. But D'Souza reviews the chronology for us: In 1981, when the Left was ready to sell the ranch, when conservatives (your reviewer included) pretty much assumed the Cold War had to go on indefinitely, and when Gorby was still serving as Yuri Andropov's houseboy, President Reagan began the largest military build-up in history. There was a plan here that only he fully understood. From begin-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ning to end, D'Souza writes, the President held to this "one dominating purpose."

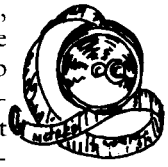
In 1983, Reagan began installing the Pershing missiles in Western Europe, again to outcry all around. That same year he announced the Strategic Defense Initiative—the reviled "Star Wars." ("Entirely the President's idea," according to George Shultz.) With Western liberals demanding, "Freeze now!" Reagan then one-upped Gorby, the Left, the media, the foreign-policy establishment, and fellow conservatives by proposing in 1986 (again, his idea) the Zero Option—a proposal to eliminate both U.S. and Soviet intermediate-range missiles over a period of three years. At Reykjavik Gorby replied, *Nyet!* He would never go along unless Reagan abandoned SDI, and this was "non-negotiable."

More hysteria, derision, and pressure on Reagan, until, 18 months later, bankrupt, relishing his global popularity but just barely holding on at home, the Man Who Changed the World was back hat in hand agreeing to Reagan's terms. "The INF [intermediate-range nuclear forces] treaty," writes D'Souza, "was in fact the first stage of Gorbachev's surrender in the Cold War."

Historians a generation or two from now probably will not spend a lot of time grappling with the causalities here, nor find much to debate in D'Souza's conclusion that this achievement puts Reagan in the class of Washington, Lincoln, FDR, and Churchill. They will read Reagan's speech to the British Parliament in 1982: "In an ironic sense, Karl Marx was right . . . We are witnessing today a great revolutionary crisis. . . . But the crisis is happening not in the free, non-Marxist West, but in the home of Marxist-Leninism, the Soviet Union." Or his speech at Notre Dame in 1981: "The West won't contain Communism. It will transcend Communism. It will dismiss it as some bizarre chapter in human history whose last pages are even now being written." Then they'll come across quotes like this, which Mr. D'Souza attributes to Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko: "Behind all this lies the clear calculation that the USSR will exhaust its material resources, and therefore be forced to surrender."

It will not be hard to piece it all together. The historians' task—and good luck—will be to ponder the writings of Ronald Reagan's critics before and after 1989 (and that last edition of *Bartlett's* with just three Reagan quotes, all "gaffes") and then explain how such hostility and hysteria could be followed by such rank ingratitude.

As a biography and attempt to "solve the mystery" of Reagan's personality, D'Souza's book doesn't quite work, but that is what Morris is there for, and I would not want the job myself. There is a heroic simplicity to Reagan's character that doesn't really lend itself to analysis. It comes across better in stories. Did he care that Gorbachev was hailed as savior of the planet while he went into quiet retirement? "I don't resent his popularity. Good Lord, I co-starred with Errol Flynn once." Reagan's Zero Option offer required the Soviets to remove existing missiles in exchange for America's not installing new ones, leading negotiator Paul Nitze to ask, "What am I going to tell them?" "Well, Paul, you just tell the Soviets that you're working for one tough son of a bitch." Was he afraid going back to the same hotel where he had been shot a few months earlier? "No, but I'm wearing my oldest suit today."



The best quote in the book comes to us from Mother Teresa, who told Reagan after the assassination attempt, and maybe would tell him again today: "You haves suffered the passion of the cross and have received grace. Because of your suffering and pain you will now understand the pain of the world. This has happened to you because your country and the world need you." □

This Old House

DAVID KLINGHOFFER

AS Anthony Daniels writes in the lead review of this section (page 50), the new growth area in publishing is sickness books, novels and memoirs about people suffering from grave illness. Radek Sikorski's *Full Circle* is in a sense also about a sickness, and a recovery: that of his homeland, Poland, after a prolonged bout of Communism.

Full Circle: A Homecoming to Free Poland, by Radek Sikorski (Simon & Schuster, 265 pp., $24)

Wait, do not stop reading this review! For us in America, where the current great ideological war pits aggressive secularism against traditional religious faith, the struggle against Communism is no longer the fascinating subject it once was. Many an insomniac has found he can induce sleep by repeating the word "anti-Communist" to himself over and over again. Sikorski's memoir might have proved yet another instance of post–Berlin Wall complaining by yet another Central European émigré, but for two things: he is a fabulous writer, and he has chosen to crystallize his nation's sickness-almost-unto-death in a charming, vivid account of his struggle to restore an old Polish manor house to its pre-Communist stateliness.

Readers of NATIONAL REVIEW will recognize Mr. Sikorski as our roving correspondent. His book begins grippingly on June 4, 1989, when he was on a particularly dangerous roving assignment. Writers looking for a way to begin their memoirs that will inspire the reader to keep going through 250 pages needn't look any further than Sikorski's Prologue. That day in June, "the day of Poland's first nearly democratic elections since the Second World War, I was deep in the Angolan bush, not far from the strategic Benguela railway. I had joined a unit of Jonas Savimbi's UNITA guerrillas on a long trek from his base at Jamba to the battleground in the central highland." Now *that's* an opening paragraph.

From his Angolan sojourn, Sikorski travels back in time—to his childhood under Communism, and beyond that several generations deep into the history of his family, and still further back in the history of the region of Poland containing the estate he would eventually restore—and forward, to his experiences at the center of post-Communist Polish history. He served briefly as the deputy defense minister of free Poland, in which capacity he helped to cement Polish military links with the West and to foil an attempt by Lech Walesa to get nuclear warheads. Sikorski's account of

Mr. Klinghoffer is literary editor at NR.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

an interview with Walesa should cure any Westerner still suffering from a romantic misreading of the man as a simple but noble fighter for democracy: "He exuded strength, but it was untempered by civility or even a trace of modesty. More alarmingly, I was appalled by the atmosphere around him in the presidential palace. The language was that of the beer hall; the ambiance that of a gang of racketeers in a third-rate thriller. The yes-men in his entourage pandered to him as if to some African tribal chief."

One of irritating things about the recollections of post-Communist Central Europeans is their heavy atmosphere of self-pity. That quality is absent from Sikorski's writing, which is instead delightfully contemptuous of the Communists who ran his country. His contempt emerges not in diatribes but in wry scenes where the Communists seem more stupid than evil. "One year," he remembers of a boyhood trip to Turkey by way of the Soviet Union,

> we traveled with a color picture of the Pope stuck behind the windshield—put there by my father shortly after his election out of patriotic bravado.
>
> "Who is this?" asked a [Soviet] customs officer, pointing at the figure in white with a hand raised in benediction.
>
> "That?" My father suddenly remembered that our customs declaration stated categorically that it was forbidden to bring any religious objects into the Soviet Union. "That is one of our generals." He smiled weakly.
>
> "A general?" The soldier gave my father a searching look.
>
> "Actually, an admiral, the commander of our Baltic fleet," said my father, keeping a straight face.
>
> "I see. He has a very smart uniform."

By age 17, Radek was a "hardened anti-Communist," prompting a teacher to accuse him to his own parents. "She suspended her voice and whispered menacingly. 'In fact, we suspect that your son may be anti-Soviet!' . . . In one of those attacks of recklessness to which my father was prone, he looked back at her, irony in his eyes and voice, and replied: 'Really! Impossible!' "

Poland renounced Communism, but the transition to Western-style government never happened as planned. The country is today not an "errant democracy," Sikorski writes, but a "nascent kleptocracy." "Fraud and corruption occur everywhere, of course, but in Poland the game was about more than who will buy a large house or a fast car. It was about who will belong to the new Poland's upper and upper-middle class, and who will become the proletariat. The question has largely been settled. The Communist *nomenklatura* is the new upper class, whereas those who made it possible for them—the workers who brought down Communism—remain the proletariat."

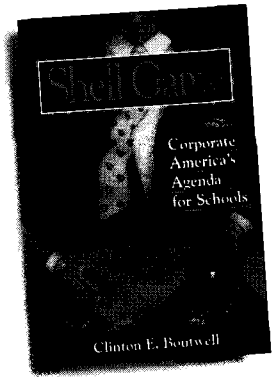
Salvation through gentrification? At first glance, the historical-preservation movement seems to fit naturally into the fabric of secular liberalism.

For a conservative in Poland, like Sikorski, as for a conservative in the United States, the question is how best to translate individual and collective energy into a force capable of actually reforming a nation—not merely exchanging one group of stupid or evil politicians for another, equally stupid or evil. Sikorski chose to direct his energy not to political races, ballot initiatives, or any of the other familiar tools of reform, but to—real estate. In 1989, he purchased for 6,849,899 old zlotys (about $1,245) and then rebuilt a half-ruined manor house, or *dworek,* called Chobielin, confiscated from its previous owners by the Polish state in 1944.

There is a profound point here. Sikorski hopes, he says, that "once the novelty of joining the civilized world wears off, [Polish] yuppies, just like yuppies everywhere, will tire of their airport-to-air-conditioned-office existence. When they become truly cosmopolitan they'll start longing for the provincial and the particular, going back to the villages which they or their parents had repudiated." Poland will be restored when its elite class reclaims old homes and other structures, reoccupying the physical places their grandparents and great-grandparents lived in.

Salvation through gentrification? At first glance, the historical-preservation movement appears to fit naturally into the fabric of secular liberalism, alongside environmentalism, animal rights,

PHI DELTA KAPPA INTERNATIONAL



Shell Game
Corporate America's Agenda for Schools
Clinton E. Boutwell

The *jobs dilemma* in America is obvious: lots of well-qualified graduates coming out of high schools and colleges and too few jobs to go around.

Critical questions for today's schools and tomorrow's work force: Is the current push for greater numbers of "high-tech, high-skill" workers by Corporate America a fraud — a shell game? What will happen to all of those highly qualified workers and college graduates who are not lucky enough to land one of the few jobs for which they are qualified?

Long-time educator and consultant Clinton Boutwell provides some surprising, well-researched, and well-documented answers to these and related questions about education and business for the 21st century.

367 pages, HB $35 + s&h
ISBN 0-87367-499-5

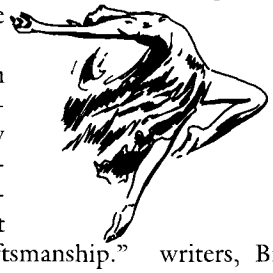
Order Direct at 1-800-766-1156

Send your purchase order to Phi Delta Kappa International, P.O. Box 789, Bloomington, IN 47402-0789. Purchase orders and MasterCard and VISA orders also are accepted by fax at (812) 339-0018.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

multiculturalism, and the rest. Old buildings can function as an empty substitute for old ideas, in particular old spiritual ideas derived from the Biblical tradition. When people have forgotten those ideas, the natural spiritual urge seeks a replacement for them. If not old ideas, then old buildings. It's suspicious that the well-fed upper-middle-class liberals with the leisure time to rally to the defense of endangered bugs are precisely the same people who cry out to save dilapidated old buildings in big-city downtowns.

But not everything a liberal thinks should be dismissed just because he's a liberal. Old things, including buildings, deliver a rebuke to the modern age on behalf of the people who constructed and occupied them centuries ago. There is a general principle that in the struggle between good and evil, evil will attempt to erase history. For history tells us that men once lived better, more godly lives than we do today. We see the principle at work in America in the form of multiculturalism, Afrocentrism, and the lies that are spread about the European past.



Sikorski went to school in a typically modern, featureless concrete block. He grew up in a typical government-built apartment house, "bastardized Le Corbusier built to socialist standards of craftsmanship." "It was because Communism tried to abolish history"—notably in the form of architecture from the pre-Communist era—"that I revered old things. And it was precisely because I had been taught that manor houses were a feudal relic which made me want to live in one."

Conservatives, please pay attention. For all our Republican electoral victories, it is hard to think of ways in which life in America is getting better, not worse. As we consider alternatives to the trusted political methods which have brought mainly disappointments, the possibility can't be dismissed that each of us must devote greater attention to rebuilding his own Chobielin. This needn't be an actual house of bricks and cement, but it must be some discrete parcel of human flourishing—the size of one person, or one family—where secular liberalism can be decisively eradicated, replaced with the virtues of tradition. Not a house, but a home. Where politicians fail, family, faith, and, yes, even real estate may succeed. □

FILM

Wilderness with Palms or Bears

JOHN SIMON

YOU must have noticed that in thrillers there is usually something that doesn't quite make sense. There was no reason for Amanda to wear a hat to the corner grocery, for the Brownstein twins to have missed school because of their mother's migraine, for there being an expert on Byzantine art on the bus that day. But that is how thrillers are—mostly.

I am happy to report that in ***L.A. Confidential*** there is nothing of the kind: everything is credible, fits in with all the rest, and goes from exciting to enthralling. The plot is absorbing, the characters are believable and even worth caring about, and the dialogue is tough and witty without ever sounding strained. This is as close to art as a *policier* can get, and that should be plenty for everyone. James Ellroy's underlying novel is, I gather, more complicated; all the more credit to the writers, Brian Helgeland (whose *Conspiracy Theory* failed to impress) and Curtis Hanson (who also directed), for getting at the essentials, and getting them right.

We are in the City of (Fallen) Angels in the Fifties, the Eisenhower and Norman Rockwell decade. Here, at least in the movies, it is always midsummer a-rustle with palm fronds, although they are only a front behind which prostitution, pornography, drugs, and murder pullulate. Mickey Cohen, the crime czar, is safely behind bars, but the vacancy at the top merely invites rubouts as various contenders compete for the throne of crime. As the L.A. police employ ruthless tactics to rid the city of criminal elements, one wonders just how clean their own hands are.

Mainly, this is the story of three very different detectives. Bud White is thorough but unscrupulous in meting out punishment, even instant death, in what he perceives as the righting of wrong. He is particularly violent with abusers of women, harking back to his father's vile treatment of his mother. And an effective one, though unwilling to testify against other cops, however culpable.

Bud's exact opposite is Ed Exley, a cerebral, bespectacled type ("You better lose those glasses," his superiors keep telling him, and sometimes he does), who, however, yearns for action. Above all, he hopes to match his late father's fine career in the Department, and perhaps even root out the old man's still unknown killer. Ed believes in ideal justice, which makes him and Bud natural enemies, especially after Ed testifies against some bad cops and ends up shunned by his colleagues.

The third, and most curious, principal is Jack Vincennes, a dapper, morally lax detective who not only acts as paid advisor on a dubious TV police show, but also teams up with Sid Hudgens, the sleazy editor of *Hush-Hush* magazine, which specializes in setting up movie celebrities in compromising situations. This involves much greasing of palms, fake publicity for Jack, who makes the well-photographed arrest, and good gossip for Sid. Jack, though, is very smart and, as it turns out, not such a bad guy.

Los Angeles needs all the police work it can get. Quickly, the movie establishes a sense of spreading evil, especially as we keep hearing about the Fleur de Lys, where all desires will be fulfilled. It turns out to be a place (which the film does not show in detail) where you can have sex with girls who have been made over into movie-star lookalikes; indeed, in a delightful throwaway scene, Ed mistakes—much to Jack's amusement—the real Lana Turner for such a knockoff. But isn't that the essence of Hollywood? Where even the real is make-believe, may not the make-believe be as good as real? Or as bad as real? It is Christmas Eve, yet a husband is beating the daylights out of his wife under the colored lights, and the cops at the station house are brutally working over some Mexicans who may not even be guilty. The former is punished by Bud;

Mr. Simon is NR*'s film critic.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the latter, despite Ed's efforts, are not stopped.

It is to the movie's credit that it works mostly by suggestion. So Lynn Bracken, the blonde from Idaho who is the Veronica Lake of the Fleur de Lys, is amply characterized with utmost restraint. So, too, a corrupt D.A. and whoremongering politician are sketched in authoritatively with swift, subtle strokes. All locations are redolent of lived-in authenticity (and don't go telling me that Hollywood necessarily knows how to get L.A. down right). We believe a weatherbeaten type such as Police Captain Dudley Smith, more pragmatic than ethical, to be good at his job; or Pierce Patchett, the millionaire who makes as much from highway construction as from the byways of the Fleur de Lys, to be terrific at bending the law his way.

In movies, David Mamet's dialogue exaggerates more easefully than on stage, and revels in its absurdities.

Everything has a fresh feel to it: Lynn's similar yet different effects on Bud and Ed; the uneasy alliances, first between Ed and Jack, then between Ed and Bud; the seamy operations of the forces of law in all their meanderings; the suddenness with which unconscionable violence strikes; the horrendous shootouts that register as more real than standard movie shootouts. The dead here look genuinely dead; more important, the living are genuinely alive in their imperfect, begrimed, vulnerable existences.

And how cleverly the film is cast. Two of the leading roles have gone to Australians or New Zealanders, sufficiently unfamiliar looking, yet blending in seamlessly. Thus the babyfaced bully, Bud White, of Russell Crowe and the slightly nerdy yet brilliant Ed Exley of Guy Pearce. And how neat to cast James Cromwell, formerly Farmer Hogett of *Babe*, as the pawky Captain Smith. The until recently too gorgeous Kim Basinger, now beginning to fade, is just right for the disenchanted Lynn. Possibly the finest character actor in today's Hollywood, Kevin Spacey gets across with wonderful irony both the self-satisfaction and the self-loathing of Jack Vincennes. Perfect, too, are the slippery D.A. of Ron Rifkin and the exquisitely unsavory nabob of David Strathairn. Also the cheerfully slimy Hudgens of Danny DeVito, and the pathetic young actor for homosexual sale of Simon Baker Denny.

Dante Spinotti's cinematography, pretty but not too pretty, captures expertly this two-faced world, and Jerry Goldsmith, not always my favorite composer, admirably blends lushness and menace in his score. But top credit must go to Curtis Hanson for his astounding film-noir savoir faire: scene after tricky scene is directed with quietly devastating command. *L.A. Confidential* conveys supremely how brains and brawn must unite to achieve, however transiently and with some compromise, the triumph of justice. It is sure to become a classic of its genre.

■ At the screening of ***The Edge*** I attended, Bart the man-eating Kodiak bear (though bears eat berries) got the biggest applause, even over the formidable competition of Anthony Hopkins and Alec Baldwin. Deservedly: this has to be the fiercest performance by a bruin on film. To be sure, a creature as big as a furry Henry Moore sculpture, with ferally beady eyes and running like a greyhound, pretty much has it made.

The plot about three men stranded after a plane crash in the Alaskan wilderness, as conceived by David Mamet, has its share of the preposterous; but, in movies, Mamet's dialogue exaggerates more easefully than on stage, and revels in its absurdities. There is even a certain daring in making a black character (Harold Perrineau, so good in *Smoke*) inept, but otherwise the story is not unlike other lost-in-the-frozen-wilderness films, except that, chill as the weather must be, you cannot see the breath issuing from mouths.

There are other inauthenticities as well. Yet the movie makes for good enough hokey fun under Lee Tamahori's direction, with magnificent camera work from Donald M. McAlpine. This time round, Jerry Goldsmith's music is a bit too grandiose, particularly in the early flying sequences; but that, like so much else, scarcely matters. Bart, as Flannery O'Connor would have said, bears it away. □

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT AND CIRCULATION
(required by 39 U.S.C. 3685)

1. Title of publication: NATIONAL REVIEW.

2. Publication no.: 374-120.

3. Date of filing: September 29, 1997.

4. Frequency of issue: Bi-weekly except only one issue in January.

5. No. of issues published annually: 25.

6. Annual subscription price: $57.00.

7. Complete mailing address of known office of publication: 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016-4188.

7A. Contact person: Jason Ng.
7B. Telephone: (212) 849-2829.

8. Complete mailing address of the headquarters or general business offices of the publisher: Same.

9. Full names and complete mailing address of publisher, editor, and managing editor: Publisher: Edward A. Capano, 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016-4188; Editor: John O'Sullivan, 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016; Managing Editor: Linda Bridges, 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016.

10. Owner (Do not leave blank. If the publication is owned by a corporation, give the name and address of the corporation immediately followed by the names and addresses of all stockholders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of the total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, give the names and addresses of the individual owners. If owned by a partnership or other unincorporated firm, give its name and address as well as those of each individual owner. If the publication is published by a nonprofit organization, give its name and address.): National Review, Inc., 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016; William F. Buckley Jr., 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016.

11. Known Bondholders, Mortgagees, and Other Security Holders Owning or Holding 1 Per Cent or More of Total Amount of Bonds, Mortgages, or Other Securities: None.

13. Publication Title: National Review

14. Issue Date for Circulation Data Below: October 13, 1997.

15. Extent and Nature of Circulation:

	Average no. copies of each issue during preceding 12 months	Actual no. copies of single issue published nearest to filing date
A. Total no. copies (net press run)	202,392	187,200
B. Paid and/or requested circulation		
1. Sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors and counter sales (not mailed)	7,635	8,000
2. Paid or requested mail subscriptions (Include advertiser's proof copies and exchange codes)	170,377	160,693
C. Total paid and/or requested circulation (sum of 15b(1) and 15b (2))	178,012	168,693
D. Free distribution by mail, (samples, complimentary, and other free)	1,569	1,638
E. Free distribution outside the mail (carriers or other means)	617	1,151
F. Total free distribution (sum of 15d and 15e)	2,186	2,789
G. Total distribution (sum of 15c and 15f)	180,198	171,482
H. Copies not distributed		
1. Office use, left over, spoiled	1,758	1,751
2. Returns from news agents	20,436	13,967
I. Total (sum of 15g, 15h(1), and 15h(2))	202,392	187,200
J. Percent paid and/or requested circulation (15c/15g x 100)	99%	98%

16. Publication of Statement of Ownership: Will be printed in the October 27,1997 issue of this publication.

17.Signature and Title of Editor, Publisher, Business Manager, or Owner:

I certify that all information furnished on this form is true and complete. I understand that anyone who furnishes false or misleading information on this form or who omits material or information requested on the form may be subject to criminal sanctions (including fines and imprisonment) and/or civil sanctions (including multiple damages and civil penalties).

(signed) Jason Ng, Circulation Manager.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ART

Radiant Baby

JAMES GARDNER

THE art world changes with such delirious speed these days that it no longer recognizes itself in what it produced only a decade ago. Consider the case of Keith Haring, that merry pictorial prankster of Manhattan in the Eighties who won fame and fortune by scribbling graffiti all over the Spring Street subway station. Now the subject of a major retrospective at the Whitney, Haring is associated with the East Village scene, whose exuberant populism once embraced everything from the Jetsons to the spray-painted walls of the inner city. And yet the merriment of that cultural movement, with its dazzling club life and its innocent high jinks, has become a faint memory. Ten years later, we are in a time of sober reckoning haunted by thoughts of mortality. Thus the pervasive mood of the present exhibition is one of sorrow, dominated as it is by the inescapable consciousness of the artist's death from AIDS seven years ago at age 31. Indeed, it is this element of suffering which alone grants to him one last breath of relevance in an art world that has otherwise rejected completely everything for which he stood.

Haring is unique among younger artists in having achieved the kind of popularity that is granted to few "high" artists, among them Dali, Warhol, and Lichtenstein. Though he is not exactly a household name, his broad-stroked, demotic style of drawing is immediately recognizable and has appeared in everything from UNICEF posters to a recent car commercial. With this single implement of broad and uninflected line, Haring recorded some of the most evocative archetypes of the post-modern mind: a radiant child, a barking dog, a pulsating pyramid.

The premise of Haring's art was explicitly leftist: his graffiti-style images implied populist sympathies as well as subversion of the power structures. And of course that nationally televised footage of the young rebel being removed from the subway in handcuffs did nothing to discourage sales among plutocrats suffering from the usual *nostalgie de la boue*. Yet even after one has recognized the slightly queasy hypocrisy in all of this, it must be said that Haring's images grow on you through a native force of line and composition of a sort that his more highly esteemed colleague, Jean-Michel Basquiat, never achieved. In both his *Brazil* from 1989 and his *Untitled* from 1985—the latter depicting, against a bright yellow ground, a Cerberean god feasting on innocent victims—there is evidence of a real if limited skill in composing images and combining colors.

Ivan Albright is an American original, with a dark and gothic sensibility combining Poe and Cotton Mather.

In this obedience, throughout his career, to a single style that he made his own, and a populist style at that, Haring recalls the equally popular Roy Lichtenstein. The problem with both artists is that they had neither the inclination nor the ability to advance or to go deeper. Haring has little to express beyond a vague pleasantness, a whiff of happiness. Any attempt at true feeling is immediately deflected and thwarted by a blithely eupeptic tone that was intrinsic to his art: his AIDS image seems as innocuous as his radiant babies and his barking dogs. There is little reason, therefore, to doubt that, even if this artist had lived an additional fifty years, he would have continued to make the same happy art in the service of a visual culture that, with each year, was growing more and more alienated from his populist vision.

■ The late Ivan Albright, whose centennial we now celebrate, is far less well known today than Haring, but for a few weeks in 1945 he was the most famous artist in America. That was the year the movie version of *The Picture of Dorian Gray* hit the silver screen. It was shot in black and white, except for the *coup de théâtre* in which the camera, leaping into Technicolor, revealed the portrait's harrowing transformation under the manifold sins of its sitter. MGM held a contest to find an artist who could do justice to this idea of moral corruption, and they came up with the man whom Providence itself had evidently appointed to execute so gruesome a commission.

Albright's *Picture of Dorian Gray*, now on display in a retrospective at the Metropolitan, is one of the strangest masterpieces you will ever see. Its full-length figure appears in a state of purulent and mottled putrefaction. The Devil as always is in the details—in this case, the manic insistence with which Albright registers each green and purple pustule, each livid, tumorous patch of yellow scar and turquoise scab sprouting spontaneously from the rotted flesh. The image is inexhaustible. It keeps coming at you, revealing degrees and details of dangerous contagion which may escape even the most diligent inspection.

Many people wanted to buy Albright's works, but the cantankerous artist was independently wealthy and only rarely agreed to part with them. His *Dorian Gray* is of a piece with the rest of his oeuvre: numerous portraits of himself and his family are not much more flattering. In his gruesome view of human flesh, Albright recalls certain old masters. Yet he is an American original, whose dark and gothic sensibility, a mixture of Poe and Cotton Mather, is best exemplified in his famous image *The Door*. This eight-foot-high-by-three-foot-wide painting consists of a battered old door, shut for an eternity and adorned with an ashen, funereal wreath. From the left, at first unseen, a tiny, deadish, neatly manicured hand reaches for the doorknob. The contemporary critic was not far off who called this "one of the most unusual and distinguished pieces of painting ever produced in the United States." □

Mr. Gardner is NR*'s art critic and the author most recently of* The Age of Extremism.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

Business Opportunities

CAREER BURNOUT? Home health business, serious income. Free information: 800-925-2494.

$1000s POSSIBLE READING BOOKS. Part Time. At Home. Toll Free 800-218-9000, Ext. R-3013 for Listings.

Hotels

HOTEL Bedford

Your Key To New York

118 E. 40th Street, New York, NY 10016

Between Park and Lexington Avenues...on Manhattan's fashionable East Side. Ideally located for business, Fifth Avenue Shops, Entertainment and Fine Dining.

Special National Review Rates

Reservations: 800-221-6881 (USA & Canada)

FAX (212) 697-1093

Educational Opportunities

DOCTORAL DEGREES

Accredited, 1-2 years. 1 month Residency. Business, Education, Government, International Relations, Psychology, Religion, Social Work, Health Services. Write:Berne University, P. O. Box 1080, Wolfeboro Falls, N.H. 03896. Call: 603-569-8648. Fax: 603-569-4052. E-Mail: berne@berne.edu

LEARN MORE SPANISH

- GLOSSARY in every issue
- World News & Current Topics
- Intermediate Level: $25/yr; 12 issues
- Beginning Level: $39/yr; 22 issues

FREE Brochure with Sample Articles!

Educational News Service
PO Box 60478-NR, Florence, MA 01062

1-800-600-4494 • info@ednews.com

For Sale

ELIMINATE PESTS AND RODENTS. Electronic repeller protects 2,500 square feet. Pest Free, only $49.95. Free shipping, 30-day refund. Credit Card orders: 800-643-1033, or fax: 706-327-1031. ANU Merchandise, Est. 1987.

NEW VIDEO. Trochmann, Koernke . . . $20 cash. 641-B Lancaster Avenue #265, Frazer, Pa. 19355.

SEIZED CARS FROM $175. Porsches, Cadillacs, Chevys, BMWs, Corvettes. Also Jeeps, 4WDs. Your area. Toll Free: 800-218-9000, Ext. A-3013 for current listings.

Literary

NEW AUTHORS
PUBLISH YOUR WORK
All subjects considered:
Fiction, Biography, Poetry, Religion, Children's
AUTHORS WORLDWIDE INVITED
Write, or send your manuscript to:
MINERVA PRESS
2 OLD BROMPTON ROAD, LONDON SW 7 3DQ, ENGLAND

GOOD USED BOOKS—wide variety, intelligent selection. Libraries buy regularly; you can too. History, fiction, social science, literature, miscellaneous subjects. Send $2 for listings of 25,000 titles and prices. Editions, Desk NR, Boiceville, N.Y. 12412.

DO YOU HAVE A BOOK TO PUBLISH?
Pentland Press, Inc.
USA • ENGLAND • SCOTLAND
Send manuscript for evaluation. Co-operative publisher can arrange the editing, design, publication, promotion, warehousing and distribution of your book.
5124 Bur Oak Circle, Raleigh, NC 27612
1-800-948-2786

Health

IS GULF WAR DISEASE CONTAGIOUS? Write: HPAF, P. O. Box 10088, Tampa, Fla. 33679.

Religion

LOOKING FOR A CHURCH that still teaches traditional values? Call the Anglican Catholic Church Information Center. 800-506-7616.

Financial

Add Balance To Your Portfolio
• FREE Gold Investors Guide
• Largest Selection of Precious Metals
• America's only Full Service Discount Gold Firm
800-965-0580
LEAR FINANCIAL

Real Estate

GOV'T FORECLOSED HOMES for pennies on the $1. Delinquent Tax, Repos, REOs. Your Area. Toll Free: 800-218-9000, Ext. H-3013 for current listings.

Professional Services

TRANSCRIPTION OF CONFERENCES, manuscripts, interviews. Proofreading and printing services. 800-338-8002 (Ext. 03).

T-Shirts & Bumper Stickers

FREE BUMPER STICKERS! Five different slogans, each concerned with recovery from compulsive over-governing. Dave Polewka, P. O. Box 3652, Chapel Hill, N.C. 27515-3652.

Communications

AIRLINE TRAVELERS—DISCOUNT PHONE CARDS. 12.5 cents/minute 800 number and 16.9 cents/minute, 6-second billing, no fees. 800-284-3617 (Code 2182).

Friendship, Etc.

BRITISH LADIES & GENTLEMEN seek romance & marriage with Americans—all ages! English Rose Introductions—Tel: 011-44-1843-863322/Fax: 011-44-1843-863346 (24 hrs.)!

SINGLE BOOKLOVERS, linked nationally since 1970. P. O. Box 117, Gradyville, Pa. 19039. 800-773-3437 or sbl@compuserve.com

CLASSICAL MUSIC LOVERS' EXCHANGE ® for unattached music lovers. Nationwide. P. O. Box 31, Pelham, N.Y. 10803. 800-233-CMLS.

MEET WOMEN WORLDWIDE FOR LOVE AND MARRIAGE. World's #1 Correspondence Service since 1974! Complimentary 32-page photo magazine: Cherry Blossoms, P. O. Box 190-NR, Kapaau, Hawaii 96755. 800-322-3267 (Ext. 48). And at: www.blossoms.com/ad48.html cherry@blossoms.com.

RUSSIAN LADIES, truly beautiful, educated, seek romance! Beautiful videos, exciting Moscow tours. Free photocatalog. Russia 206, P. O. Box 888851, Atlanta, Ga. 30356. 770-458-0909.

ASIAN BEAUTIES! WORLDWIDE! Romance, Lifemates! P.I.C., Box 461873-NR, Los Angeles, Calif. 90046. 213-650-1994. www.pacisl.com

LATINAS ON VIDEO EXPRESS. Tours, Information: www.business-online.com/love/ or 602-982-7065.

ASIAN WOMEN Desire Marriage! Established 1984! Free Photobrochure! SUNSHINE INTERNATIONAL CORRESPONDENCE, P. O. Box 5500-FH, Kailua-Kona, Hawaii 96745-5500. 808-325-7707. http://sunshine-girls.com

JAPANESE WOMEN! 110 Pacific, #208JW, San Francisco, Calif. 94111. 816-942-1668.

Personal

STOP THE BALONEY! Conservative GOP state Senator seeks support in race to defeat liberal Democratic Congressman Jim "Baloney" Maloney in Connecticut. For more information on how you can help, contact: Nielsen Congress '98, P. O. Box 421, Danbury, Conn. 06813. View Nielsen's recent pic with Ronald Reagan at: http:\\www.nielsen98.com.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Travel

FREIGHTER CRUISES—WORLDWIDE, deluxe, inexpensive. TravLtips, Box 580-218A7, Flushing, N.Y. 11358. 800-872-8584. http://www.travltips.com

***NR* REPRINTS AVAILABLE**
"The War On Drugs Is Lost" ($1.70)
"NR's 40th Anniversary Issue" ($2.95)
"The Real Reagan Record" ($2.95)
"The 100 Best Conservative Movies" ($1.50)
"Health Care: Second Opinions" ($2)
(Please add 50 cents for shipping and handling.)
Bulk prices available for all upon request.
Send to:
NATIONAL REVIEW,
215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016
Specify selection.

CLASSIFIED INFORMATION

Rates: $4.50 per word (10-word minimum). Phone number, zip code, all permitted abbreviations (P. O. Box, S.A.S.E., etc.) count as one word.

Discounts: 4 times, $4.00 per word; 6 times, $3.75 per word; 8 or more times, $3.50 per word.

Display Ads: Minimum 1-inch, maximum 9 inches (vertical). Width 2 1/4 inches. One time, $225 per column inch; 4 times, $200 per column inch; 8 times, $185 per column inch; 10 or more times, $175 per column inch. Camera-ready art (to size) must be provided. Display rates apply to Classified section only.

NR Box Numbers: $10 additional (one-time only charge). When responding to an NR Box number, Address: NR Box _____, c/o Tony Savage, *NATIONAL REVIEW*, 215 Lexington Ave., New York, N.Y. 10016. Letters will be forwarded by 1st class mail.

To Order: Full payment in advance by check, money order (payable to *NATIONAL REVIEW*), MasterCard, or Visa (include expiration date). Address: Tony Savage, *NATIONAL REVIEW*, 215 Lexington Ave., New York, N.Y. 10016. FAX: 212-696-0340. Tel. 212-679-7330

Deadlines: Every other Tuesday (approx. 16 days before the magazine is printed). Upcoming deadlines: Oct. 21st; Nov. 4th & 18th; Dec. 2nd.

Restrictions: *NR* may reject any copy deemed unsuitable for whatever reason, without comment. Such rejections are almost always based on our interpretation of common decency and good taste. Partisan political viewpoints expressed in connection with specific goods or services are the sole responsibility of the advertiser, and are not necessarily a reflection of *NR*'s editorial position. We do not accept ads for 900 numbers, and there are no agency commissions for the classifieds.

SCULLY

(Continued from page 31)

was eloquent in describing how, in 1988, he had learned of the nightmarish fetal-tissue experiments going on under federal auspices at a Palo Alto lab. He reported it, Reagan ended it, but it was resumed in 1989 and continues under a Clinton directive. As Whittaker Chambers had described his Communist faith "crumbling at the touch of a child"—his own newborn—a defense of the unborn was still, said Jeffrey, the key to the cultural debate. "The domestic Evil Empire reigns on."

I didn't hear much in the way of tactical advice. It is harder now, on the cultural questions, to counter the newly righteous liberalism of Blair and Clinton, perfectly capable of selling itself, when need be, in the language of Christian piety. The Statement was a good step, affirming that "we are united in seeking protection for the rights of every member of the human family—including the unborn, the handicapped, and the frail elderly—against practices and ideologies that regard only the strong and healthy as lives worth living," a formulation that reminded me less of any Republican leader than of Democrat Bob Casey of Pennsylvania. Reed seemed confident about the culture-of-life theme, contrasting the dejection inside the Beltway with the zeal of the grass roots. Krauthammer cited court rulings against assisted suicide as hopeful signs. But there was pessimism enough in the ranks, and it fell to NR's Kate O'Beirne to raise the depressing subject of the "social liberals/economic conservatives" who held the balance in Congress and, more than any internal rifts, had been brought the movement to grief.

On the other hand, a moral pessimist wandering the streets of Washington a week later would have risked being trampled by half a million or more Promise Keepers. It was striking to hear Lady Thatcher bring the point home with a call that raised the roof of the Mayflower: "We conservatives are not, most of us, saints: but even as sinners, above all perhaps as sinners, we have a duty to fight—as wholeheartedly as our enemies promote—the attack on the family that threatens the West to its foundations."

The Statement called for "protecting the integrity of the nation-state," and here, too, you saw the divide narrowing. Conservatives, it said, should guard against promiscuous multinationalism. "We envisage a world of free and independent democratic nations that respect differences in national interests, joined in amity by free trade and cooperative alliances." But peace is not a given, and the U.S. remains "the natural leader of the democratic world."

Visions of global government, Jeane Kirkpatrick reminded us, are invariably schemes for global redistribution. She agreed with Noel Malcolm of the London *Spectator* that national sovereignty will always be "the only reliable vehicle for democracy." The U.S. should steer clear of "pooled sovereignty" and the like—"a statist project" and a threat to wealth and freedom alike.

Jeremy Rabkin of Cornell took the point a little further, cautioning that NAFTA and other trade pacts embraced by conservatives might well come back to haunt us, as the extranational panels they empowered become bolder. Australian businessman Ray Evans warned of supranational bodies moving in on the environmental front. Of urgent concern, he said, is the UN's December conference on global warming in Japan. Keep an eye out for the Kyoto Protocol, under which this assembly of globalist gasbags aims to regulate carbon emissions the world over.

On foreign policy, Krauthammer said it is a time for "keeping our powder dry," avoiding "grandiose internationalism" and "an ideological crusade against China." Sam Francis of *Chronicles* spoke for conservatives wary of doctrinaire free trade (while agreeing with the Statement's immigration plank), and warier still of a trade-driven policy toward China. Robert Kagan of the Carnegie Institute for Peace made his case for engagement in Bosnia, provided that U.S. aims are clear. Fareed Zakaria of *Foreign Affairs* replied that humanitarian motives there were all well and good, but engagement in any wider war would be an invitation to disaster.

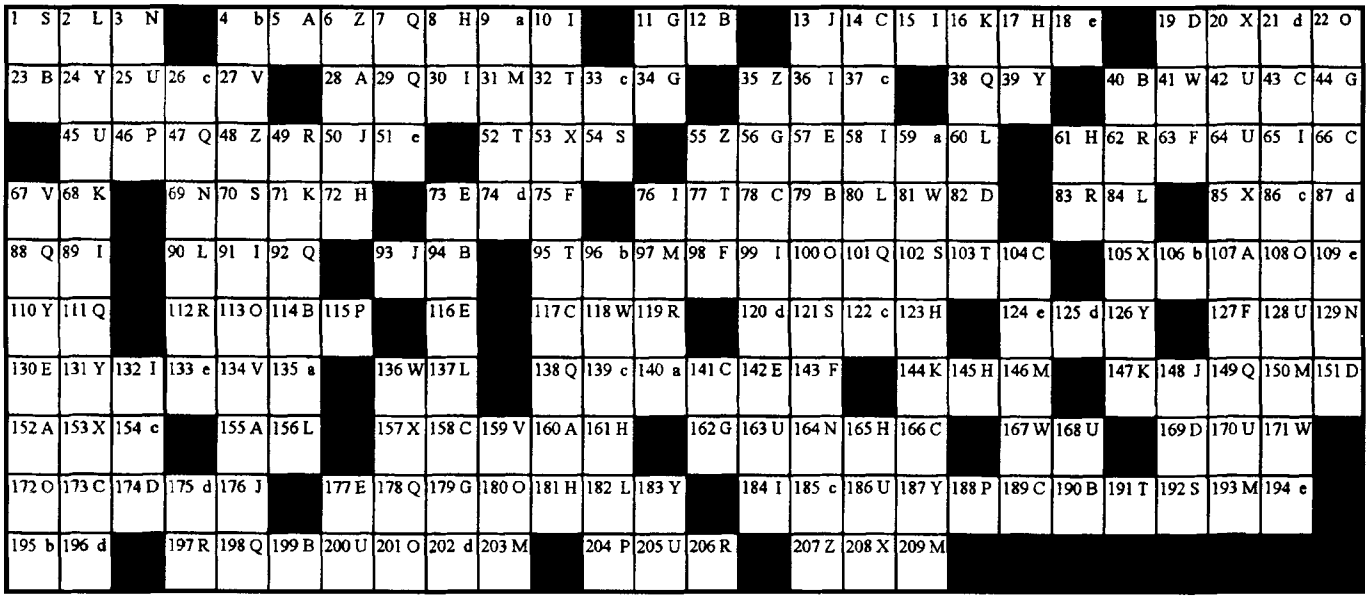
What amazed was how all these themes converged in Lady Thatcher's address. No hidden hand here, either. Quite independently, conservatives from London to Munich to Melbourne to Los Angeles to Washington were gravitating toward a basic and unapologetic defense of the West—morally, culturally, and literally. Steer clear, said Lady Thatcher, of "the banality of the global village" and of "bureaucratic internationalism." But NATO "must remain the basis for Western defense, and no rival institution" may be allowed to challenge it.

"National greatness" or no, when it was over few of us were left worrying over a lack of great objectives to be pursued—or of winning issues. Anyone still unsure of this must have missed the "Defense of the West" panel featuring Sen. Jon Kyl. The likeliest threat to America, says Kyl, is from terrorists or rogue nations. An anti-missile system is so urgent that America needs first a sea-based system and then a space-based system of just the kind Reagan envisioned—doable, says Kyl, at $17 billion and in 7 to 10 years. Today, America is living off the Reagan defense buildup. Against a direct attack or threat of attack, "we are nearly defenseless."

Not a bad cure for malaise. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TRANS-O-GRAM / Siegfried R. Reiner



A. Republican public figure Pete — 28 5 107 155 152 160

B. Implants — 190 199 40 23 114 12 94 79

C. Scene of mountain battle between Spartans and Persians — 158 173 141 78 117 66 189 104 166 43 14

D. Should — 174 151 19 169 82

E. Pioneering Willa — 142 116 73 177 130 57

F. Mission — 98 127 75 63 143

G. Ultimate — 162 44 179 11 34 56

H. Spin doctor — 161 8 61 145 181 72 165 123 17

I. Revilement — 30 184 10 99 76 36 89 15 132 65 58 91

J. Tied on behind (2 words) — 93 176 50 148 13

K. Tosses up — 16 71 147 144 68

L. Take lightly (2 words) — 182 90 80 60 2 137 156 84

M. Cordial understanding — 146 193 203 97 209 150 31

N. Adroit — 129 3 69 164

O. Ancient site of famed Diana temple — 100 108 113 22 180 201 172

P. Algebra, for instance — 188 46 115 204

Q. U.S.S. *Constitution*, affectionately (2 words) — 38 47 92 178 149 198 101 111 29 138 88 7

R. Switzerland's component parts — 197 62 49 112 83 119 206

S. Decayed — 70 121 1 102 192 54

T. Like Dickens's dodger — 52 32 191 95 77 103

U. Secret, hidden — 186 25 170 128 200 42 64 45 205 163 168

V. Johnny is to Reb as Billy is to _____ — 27 159 67 134

W. Babylonian goddess — 81 171 167 136 118 41

X. Huey, Louie, and Dewey to Scrooge McDuck — 53 20 85 105 153 208 157

Y. Slight — 24 39 183 131 187 110 126

Z. Social norms — 35 207 6 48 55

a. Emerald Isle, to the Celts — 135 140 9 59

b. Transfixed — 96 106 4 195

c. Impudent — 139 185 154 86 26 122 37 33

d. Dive into dinner (2 words) — 202 74 196 87 120 125 175 21

e. Object of Classical Rome's cultural envy — 133 194 18 109 124 51

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill in the puzzle diagram by guessing the words from their definitions, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled in it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the words have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's Deluxe Unabridged Dictionary*, Second Edition.

Solution to last issue's Trans-O-Gram. NILES REGISTER: *Paper Money Madness*: "The farmer had earned dearly the money with which he purchased this land, and when he saw the facility with which land could be acquired without labor or silver or gold, he saw that the system of rags must either be destroyed or that he must become an accomplice or a victim."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ON THE RIGHT / Wm. F. Buckley Jr.

Can We Clean Up The Act?

NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER 23

It's ironic but horribly true-to-life that the Democrats are profiteering from the Democratic election scandals. Here is the situation: As the investigations proceed, it becomes clearer and clearer that the White House is a stinkpot. So do something about the White House? Well, no. Do something about what causes all those noisome fumes, which is elections. And of course there is the White House pointing out ("As I have been recommending for five years"—Clinton) the need for campaign-finance reform. And the only tune in town these days is Senator McCain's reform bill. But it is a bill the majority of Senate Republicans don't want, for reasons personal and professional. Without soft money, Republican office-seekers would have a harder time of it. And the proposed attempts to outlaw soft money, as described in the McCain bill, would bring in a second tectonic age of regulation and countervailing anfractuosity.

Here are the two poles:

1. The expenses for electioneering have to do with the public business. Just as it is a public burden to construct poll machines, so is it a public burden to give the voters the programs of the competitors. Therefore the government should pay the cost of radio, television, and newspaper advertisements, and no private expenditures should be authorized.

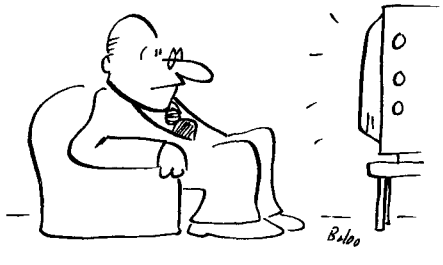
2. Democratic engagements presuppose contests. It is entirely an entrepreneurial matter what goes into those contests. If the Widow Angelina wants to give her entire fortune to the cause of Candidate Smith, that is her concern and hers alone. The distinction between soft and hard money is difficult to define and impossible to enforce. So: Get out of the way—this is *Atlas Shrugged* time.

The second school makes two concessions: namely, that all contributions should be American in origin and that a gift should be instantly traceable. Tokyo could not legally subsidize a candidacy, but General Motors could—provided the subsidy were instantly made public. You make the gift at noon. By noon the following day, you've informed the Internet.

Both models are intellectually tolerable. What discourages any enthusiasm for either is the nagging foreknowledge that although public officials are necessary, voters intuitively focus on the nexus between civic ambition and avarice. In the public sector, avarice comes in the orthodox tender—money—and in the alternative tender of power. It is nice for a politician to have both, but there are many who will sacrifice a lot of the former for a little of the latter. Consider the wealthy politician who is willing to spend $20 million in return for a seat in the Senate, where he exercises power and, in recognition of his status, gets free parking. The voter is entitled to wonder whether the public official is being subsidized by constituents who want to be beneficiaries of the public official's distribution of goods and services. We wonder why the great majority of Americans hold Congress in such low esteem. Rather, we don't wonder why Americans hold Congress in such low esteem: Congress is there, in the famous indictment, to substitute political for economic means of self-aggrandizement.

What the Republicans very much need is a bill to which the modifier "reform" can be attached which at least will satisfy some members of the public that the GOP is concerned with the mess in hand. They face the disadvantages always faced by the strategically sensible alternative. Advantages are immediately had by those who hold that the elimination of any limit on spending is an invitation to the rich to buy congressmen. GOP spokesmen can point to the hundreds of millions in soft money doled out by the labor unions. There are two ways to handle that problem. One is to enforce the Supreme Court's *Beck* decision, which denies a union the right to spend a member's money on political causes without that individual member's consent. Another is to say: Let the unions spend as they will, but record every dollar as a political donation, even as every dollar given by corporations is currently recorded under the law.

But do away with the soft-money/hard-money blur. We need an open season in political spending. Say an eight-year trial period. No holds barred, but copy of everything to the Internet. See what happens. Could it be worse? □



"We interrupt this program to bring you the largest tax hike in history . . ."

How Is Johnny Doing?

NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER 19

The defeat in the House last week of the White House proposal to encourage a national testing program brought out the worst at both ends of the political spectrum. Chester Finn of the Hudson Institute put it nicely when he said the conservatives are opposed to any program that has the word "national" in it, and the Left opposes any "test."

At school age, I and my siblings and a few others were taught privately at a makeshift school (much easier to do, at early years, than popularly supposed). But even then (in the 1930s) children in Connecticut could not be exempted from public schooling unless they submitted to a "test" after the first experimental year. That test was administered by the Calvert School in Baltimore. How was this? As simple as that over the years the Calvert "system" of teaching language, mathematics, and history had become something of a standard. Subscriptions to Calvert were inexpensive, and entitled the teacher to send in occasional essays or tests for grade/age validation. These tests, once certified, were sent to the Connecticut educational department, which issued a license to the little private school to continue another year.

National testing (originally a Republican proposal, by the way) is self-evidently a good idea. The parents of the children in the little school in Twin Forks, Indiana, are obviously interested to know what kind of progress their children are making but can't measure relative progress without help. The design of the national test that was proposed is to give exercises in reading to children completing the fourth grade and in mathematics to those completing the eighth grade. On the basis of how the children in Twin Forks make out, the parents have an idea how successfully they are being taught compared to children in Indianapolis, Seattle, and Greenwich.

Come now the objections. A black congresswoman from California testified that such tests would validate what everyone suspects, and some know—that the achieve-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ments by inner-city students are well below the national median. And everybody knows, she says, that such students are predominantly black and Hispanic. Why put an official stamp on the delinquency of delinquents, when that stamp is not therapeutic in nature? It's one thing to test everybody to see who has malaria and then send malaria medicine to those who have the disease. But since no plan is contemplated to rectify deficiencies, why simply brand them as such?

The rejoinder is obvious: namely, that where schools are retrograde, community pressure to make changes is stimulated. We can't reasonably expect to remedy the situation by asking mothers to procreate brighter students, but we can reasonably expect that where students are backward, special focus should be given to teaching methods, to academic discipline, and to study hours.

The conservatives, or at least many conservatives, are saying that there is danger in encouraging the federal arm to get involved in any way in education. Establish that Twin Forks doesn't do well in reading, and before you know it the Department of Education will be prescribing for Twin Forks look–say reading methods which will permanently injure the child.

That argument (the old slippery-slope argument) is bouncing about with grave effect in the eternal war on school vouchers. They are opposed by some conservatives on the grounds that the moment public money is spent at school you will be inviting in a brigade of federal Procrusteanizers who will choke down real learning with multicultural gook, slowly eroding the authority the community should have over its own schools.

The point is not frivolous, though it comes much too late. In the wake of the civil-rights laws came school busing. The colleges, almost all of them in some way beholden to the government, need to abide by court rulings, Virginia Military Institute being the most merciless example.

Now the proposed law would give any school district the right to decline to administer the test, which would seem to extend the protection Twin Forks might want. The cost of the program is negligible, by the standard of comparable federal exercises. And it is true that there are the equivalents of Calvert around, enabling schools that want to take measurements to go ahead and do so (there is a National Assessment of Educational Progress program, 28 years old). The pity here is that the contemplated tests are not proffered by the National Education Association or the American Federation of Teachers. This giant oligopoly—the two teachers' unions—controls U.S. education and is responsible for its strengths and horrible weaknesses. Why does it not volunteer to assess its own work? □

The New Scarlet Letter

NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER 26

Scene. Old Dominion University, Norfolk, Virginia. The visiting lecturer has spent an hour with 15 honor students, Q&A. The host advises that a photo is requested of the speaker and one of the students, posing at either side of the large college seal imprinted on the glass door to the president's office. The visitor is positioned on one side, the student on the other. The photographer is an elderly woman. She focuses her camera.

Pause.

She points to the student, who is dressed in denims and an open-collared shirt, a tiny cross on a silver chain around his neck . . . Would he please tuck the cross inside his shirt?

He does so.

The speaker says to the photographer: "Why have you asked him to hide his cross?"

She is a little frazzled by the question, but says, "Well, you know, there are a lot of people who'll be seeing this picture, a lot of them aren't Christians."

"So what? So—" the speaker pointed to the student, "he is a Christian and he wants to wear his cross."

"Well you know," the lady grappled. "It's—you have no idea the sensitivity of people. I mean, if somebody has a drink in his hand I have to say, Please put down your drink. Of if they have a cigarette, I have to say, Please put that away."

The student now spoke up. He is a freshman, from upstate New York. "P.J." is as much of his name as the speaker got. "But why shouldn't I wear this cross if I want to?"

The photographer thought it best to conclude the conversation. She snapped the picture quickly, and the community was spared the embarrassment of a picture in the paper of P.J. wearing a cross.

One hour later, after the dinner with the distinguished president of Old Dominion, the economist James Koch, one of the guests introduced himself. He is a Lutheran pastor who said that at his alma mater, the College of William & Mary, with which Old Dominion was formally affiliated when it opened its doors (in 1930), religious studies were moved away from the Philosophy Department some years ago and put in a separate Religion Department, which is being patronized by a reassuringly large number of students. I thought to recount to him the story of the photographer and P.J. But some social settings preclude investigative reporting. I said nothing, other than that I had had a happy experience at William & Mary years ago as Commencement speaker.

After the lecture I thought to address the president privately, but again the circumstances made this impossible, and so, later in the evening, at my hotel in Norfolk, I permit myself to wonder what has happened when an elderly woman in a cosmopolitan setting in the largest city in Virginia, ten minutes away from the headquarters of the Rev. Pat Robertson and the Christian Coalition, instructs a young man to conceal a cross, citing as her reason that, after all, she is expected to conceal tobacco and liquor.

What invests the episode with special meaning is the reflex, that and the seasoned age of the photographer. If she had been a twenty-year-old student majoring in Political Correctness, one might have smiled at her diplomatically impaired sensibility. If it had been a photograph designed as the cover of the yearbook, one might have understood if the editorial board had decided to suppress the crucifix. It wasn't that. The reaction is what one might have expected of a motherly photographer who spotted a swastika adorning the neck of her subject—We don't want *that*, dear.

It is disheartening to reflect on the implications of life as authorized for publication in that paper in Norfolk, Virginia. The sense of it is that those who wear the rather conventional cross around their necks belong in catacombs. Would the photographer have requested the Jewish student wearing a yarmulke to remove it? Tobacco, booze, crosses, yarmulkes. Anything else?

The political strategist James Burnham wrote some years ago that a great deal is learned from the society pages of any culture. The protocols of that culture are implied. You will learn when the skirt is simply *too* short, what hair styles aren't really acceptable; what is, well, *done*. Ten years ago a reporter from the *New York Times* asked for a picture of me and my son, to go with a story recording that both of us had books on the best-seller list. I came up with a picture of the two of us on my sailboat. The editor explained that it would need to be cropped, because the *Times* had a rule against pictures of men naked to the waist. Some things are done. What isn't done is to wear a cross. That's like, well, you know, pictures of people smoking, or drinking. On that subject Norfolk is years ahead of the Supreme Court. □

(Universal Press Syndicate)

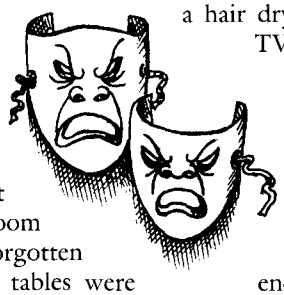
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE MISANTHROPE'S CORNER

FLORENCE KING

THE other day a woman I ran into at the post office asked me to stop by her apartment and autograph a book. She was neither friend nor acquaintance, just someone I knew to speak to, but by the time her "few minutes" had stretched into the hour of chaos that it became, she had worked her way up to Nemesis.

We walked over to her convenient downtown building that I had often thought of moving to and now can't. On the day in question, however, I was eager to see whether the rooms were as big as people said.



I never saw the rooms. It was impossible to get a feel for the place because her apartment was in a state of cyclonic chaos. She was a yuppie careerist who lived alone, not a beset mom, but the living room looked as if someone had forgotten to child-proof it. The end tables were cluttered with coffee cups and empty Coke cans. The coffee table was strewn with unopened junk mail, old newspapers, and a skein of tangled knitting wool that looked like a hair ball from a giant mutant cat. There was no place to sit; the sofa was taken up by a picture frame, an open tool box spilling out loose nails, and dry cleaning still in plastic bags. There were two armchairs but one contained a boom box with a broken antenna and the other a cardboard box full of withered potted plants, their leaves covered with dust.

She gave a merry laugh. "I won't apologize for the mess because I know writers understand." Here she threw her arms up in the air in the Unshackled Slave pose and sang out, "Creativity!"

She started looking for my book but couldn't find it. While she searched I stood there looking at the floor. It was littered with crumpled cellophane wrappers, empty envelopes, cards with empty plastic domes that had contained bobby pins or cosmetics, and a couple of yellow GE light-bulb sleeves with nothing in them. Evidently whenever she opened something she just tossed the wrapping on the floor.

"Oh, where is that book?" she wailed. "Would you mind helping me look for it? It'll jump right out at you."

Fool that I am, I looked in the bookcase but of course it wasn't there. "Try the bedroom," she called from inside the hall closet. I did. The bed looked like the mounds of Nineveh before the archaeologists arrived, heaped with bulging laundry bags, a cordless telephone, a TV remote, loose CDs, a CD player, a hair dryer, and six weeks' worth of TV schedules. Clothes were flung everywhere: over the top of the closet door, across the lampshades, and, of course, on the floor. The crowning irony was her vanity table, a cluster of gummy bottles in whose encrusted midst sat that quaint tribute to Victorian fastidiousness known as a "hair receiver."

My book finally turned up under a sack of plant food in the foyer, bringing forth an "Oh, no wonder!" from my hostess. I found it wondrous myself. Desperate to leave, I reached into my purse for a pen before she could start looking for one and signed the autograph, but I was not free yet.

"Listen, I'm going to drive you home. I insist."

That's when I saw the ultimate detritus. The back seat of her car and most of the floor was full of labels from canned food. No cans, just labels, dozens and dozens of them in a spreading heap. "I save them for my group," she explained. "We're making food maps of the world—we cut out Mexico from a chili label, Germany from a sauerkraut label, and so on. We're distributing them to the schools." I didn't ask what kind of group; I could imagine.

As we turned a corner she slowed down and pointed with pride. "Look, there's my spot." Seeing my bemused look, she pulled over to the curb beside a sign that said ADOPT-A-SPOT. "It's my group's," she said. "We take turns making sure it's not littered. Last week I caught a man throwing away a cigarette pack and made him pick it up. Cigarettes! Yuk! Dirty, filthy, disgusting! Fwooey!"

She was making me crave. I hadn't had a cigarette since the one I smoked outside the post office before I went inside and met Typhoid Mary.

She let me out in front of my building. As I dragged myself up the stairs there was a crinkly sensation on the seat of my pants. I reached around and peeled off a can label that said, inaccurately, NO FAT. Opening the door, I looked around with relief and satisfaction. My little home, neat as a pin.

THE point of this story is not that I'm a fussy old maid. You already know that. The interesting thing here is what my contretemps says about America.

Robert Fulghum, author of *All I Really Need to Know I Learned in Kindergarten* and other infantile credos, writes that people without magnetized messages all over their fridge doors are unfeeling. "Lighten up," he advises. "Get your stuff up there. Disorder is love."

The lovable slob is a fixture in American popular culture. Neil Simon gave us Oscar Madison in *The Odd Couple* and Betty MacDonald gave us Ma Kettle in *The Egg and I*. But the slob alone is obnoxious. To be lovable he needs to play against his opposite number, the neat neurotic. Oscar's foil is peevish, honking Felix Unger who alienates his poker club when he washes the cards with ammonia; Ma Kettle's is the tight-lipped, disapproving Birdie Hicks, who scrubs out her henhouse with so much lye that she kills her hens while the Kettle hens roost in the parlor and flourish.

Americans have a neurotic need not to be neurotic. The lovable slob scenario is a winner because it shows bad things happening to uptight people. The thing to be is a slob, and if you don't have a neatnik foil to make you look lovable you can Adopt a Spot and be your own Felix often enough to deflect criticism.

Then you can live amid disordered piles of love, great gobs of feeling, and tumbling heaps of emotion in an apartment from Hell that is a microcosm of America—or now, a corner of a foreign field that is forever England. □

Miss King is the author of The Florence King Reader *and other books.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

VISA® TABLE LINENS

LIFETIME SOIL-RELEASE GUARANTEE
VISA® BY MILLIKEN

No matter how wild the party, VISA® guarantees the mess will all come out in the wash. And if there's ever a problem with stains, Milliken will clean or replace the customer's table linens at no charge.

For more information on what the VISA® Lifetime Soil-Release Guarantee can do for your sales, call (864) 503-2758 or contact your VISA® table linen manufacturer. When it comes to easy care, no other fabric can hold a candle to VISA®.

MILLIKEN

CRAFTED WITH PRIDE IN U.S.A.

©1996 Milliken & Company. ®VISA is a registered trademark of Milliken & Company for fabrics. ®Dacron is a DuPont registered trademark.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED